By George Willis Cooke.

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HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY,

BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

A GUIDE-BOOK TO THE POETIC AND DRAMATIC WORKS OF ROBERT BROWNING

BY

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

AUTHOR OF "POETS AND PROBLEMS," "RALPH WALDO EMERSON: HIS LIFE WRITINGS AND PHILOSOPHY," ETC.

Best bard, because the wisest. — POE, in *Israfel.*

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BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1891

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The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Co.

HOUGHTON

PREFACE.

THIS book has been prepared on the theory that a poet is his own best interpreter. No attempt has been made to expound Browning; that has been well done by Mrs. Orr, Professor Alexander, Mr. Symons, Mr. Nettleship, Mr. Fotheringham, and others. The attempt here made is of quite another kind, and one claiming less of merit and originality. Browning's works are so voluminous that an annotated edition is impracticable at present, but an effort has been made in this volume to supply that want in part. The introductions and notes which such an edition would provide are here given in a volume by themselves, and under the titles of the poems arranged alphabetically.

Browning's method being dramatic, and his special literary form the monologue, he rarely gives any very definite clue to the situations of his characters. The obscurity of many of his poems grows wholly out of the fact that they are filled with allusions which are not easily understood. He uses historic situations, biographical incidents, and artistic details without furnishing a sufficiently clear and full interpretation of them. He assumes that the reader is in possession of all needed information concerning his characters, when it is often difficult to understand who is speaking, to what time or place he belongs, and what are the circumstances under which he speaks. Given these, it is quite possible to follow Browning's meanings, and to read him with pleasure.

This book has not been prepared for those who think

Browning needs no helps in making his meanings clear to his readers, but for those who have found it difficult to read him, and for those who have not a library at hand for the explanation of his allusions. In its preparation the work of others has been drawn upon freely. The *Papers* of the London Browning Society have been the chief source of information. The great amount of interesting matter contained in the twelve numbers now issued of those *Papers* has been carefully studied; but it is in a form very inconvenient for reference. In this volume much of it will be found under the titles of the poems to which it refers. Mrs. Orr's valuable *Handbook to Robert Browning's Works* has been used to a considerable extent, because it contains much information supplied directly by Browning for the elucidation of his poems. In every instance where such information was necessary to the purpose of the present volume it has been used, credit being given wherever possible. Another valuable source of information has been the magazine called *Poet-Lore*, which has given special attention to the interpretation of Browning's poems, and to awaking an interest in his poetry. For the aid of the student of Browning who may wish to consult the books and essays referred to throughout this volume, and also the best things written of the poet, there have been added to this preface a number of brief reference lists. Very much not contained in any of the books devoted to Browning and his poetry will be found in these pages, arranged systematically and in a form convenient for reference. The book will be found to contain the following kinds of information about Browning and his works: —

1. So far as known, the date, place, and circumstances of the writing of each poem are given.

2. The date of the publication of each poem, an account of subsequent changes and editions, and such other bibliographical details as may be of interest.

3. When a poem is based on any particular book or other writing, that special work has been drawn upon for its explanation, and as far as possible the exact words of such book have been given. When a poem is based on some historical or biographical incident, it has been explained in such fullness as seemed necessary for an understanding of the poem.

4. Browning's own explanations of his poems have been given in every instance where they were known to exist. His interpretations of whole poems or of special allusions are numerous and often of much importance. His letters and notes in explanation of his method of spelling Greek words, his use of certain grammatical forms, etc., have been given in full.

5. Many of the allusions are explained, especially those of an historical, biographical, and artistic nature. No attempt, however, has been made to explain all of the poet's allusions; and there will be found plenty of work in this direction for any Browning society that is not unusually active and zealous.

6. About fifteen poems of minor importance written by Browning, but not included in his published volumes, are reprinted here, with accounts of the circumstances of their writing and publication. They are included because they illustrate some of his poetical characteristics and some of his personal traits.

7. Reference is made under each title to such books as will be found most helpful in the interpretation of the poem or that bear upon its general subject.

8. A list is given of the best articles and books which have been published on each poem. The attempt has been made to include only such articles and books as are of real value, and to make the references accurate in every instance; but no infallibility is claimed. Owing to the fact that Mrs. Orr, in her *Handbook*, has provided an interpre-

tation for all the poems, it has not been thought necessary to refer to that work under each poem. As Symons's *Introduction to the Study of Browning* and Fotheringham's *Studies in the Poetry of Robert Browning* give interpretations of a large proportion of the poems, they have not been mentioned. Although each of these books gives something in the way of interpretation on nearly every poem they will not be found equally helpful at all times, nor will their comments afford in all instances the best word that has been said on the poems.

9. Special editions, volumes of selections, illustrations, poems set to music, have been mentioned under individual poems or in special articles.

10. Each of the principal characters in Browning's poems is noted in its alphabetical order, and a brief description given, such as will serve to identify its nature and the poem where it may be found.

11. Significant criticisms by leaders of literary opinion have been given when they were of special value.

12. In the case of the dramas accounts are given of their stage presentation.

13. The original prefaces are reprinted in all instances where they are not now printed with the poems. They are in several instances of much value in the presentation of Browning's poetical theories, or on account of their personal statements.

14. All extended and important changes in the poems since their first publication have been mentioned. The Riverside edition of Browning's *Works* gives the first edition in full of *Pauline*, as well as the poem in its latest revised form. In this book the changes made in *Paracelsus* and *Sordello* between the first and the latest editions have been indicated in parallel columns. For many of the shorter poems the changes have been indicated.

In this book the first word in each title *not an article* has

been taken as the one determining its alphabetic position, in this following for the most part the Index to the Riverside edition of 1889.

A few annotations omitted by accident from their proper place, and one or two received too late for insertion, have been included in an appendix.

The page references throughout this work are to the Riverside edition of 1889, which is in six volumes, the present volume being uniform therewith. The Riverside edition of 1888 does not contain Browning's latest revisions.

The great number of details contained in this volume make it more than probable that errors will appear in it. Also it is probable that needed information for the full explanation of some of the poems has been omitted, which more time and opportunity might have supplied. Any information that will insure greater accuracy and helpfulness to a second edition will be thankfully received.

G. W. C.

Dedham, Mass.

THE BEST THINGS SAID OF BROWNING.

ONLY the best books and magazine articles about Browning are mentioned in the following lists. No attempt has been made to compile a complete bibliography, but rather to give a helpful guide in finding what is really valuable. Dr. Furnivall's *Bibliography* is very complete, but not very convenient for ready consultation. What it lacks in conciseness and adaptability for use is made up in the appendix to Sharp's *Life*. The reader might be referred at once to the latter work were it not that it puts the good and the bad together, and gives little hint of what will be found of value or what is best worth consulting. The names of authors in the following lists guarantee merit; and in the case of writers not well known as critics a careful examination has shown the worth of what is cited.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL BOOKS.

Life of Robert Browning. William Sharp. London: Walter Scott. New York: A. Lovell & Co. 1890.

Robert Browning: Chief Poet of the Age. William G. Kingsland. London: J. W. Jarvis & Son. 1890.

Same, revised and enlarged. London: J. W. Jarvis & Son. 1891.

Same, revised and enlarged. Philadelphia: Poet-Lore Publishing Co. 1891.

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Six Months in Italy. George Stillman Hillard. Boston, 1853.

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Life of Landor. John Forster. London, 1869.

Macready's Reminiscences and Letters. London, 1875.

Literary Life. "The Brownings." W. Shepard. New York: Putnams. 1882.

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London Letters. G. W. Smalley. New York, 1891.

II. Biographical Magazine Articles.

Harper's Magazine. George W. Curtis. 23 : 555.

The Century Magazine. "The Early Writings of Robert Browning." Edmund Gosse. December, 1881. 23 : 189.

Harper's Magazine. George W. Curtis. January, 1890. 80 : 637.

Magazine of Art. "Portraits of Robert Browning." W. M. Rossetti. 13 : 181, 246, 261.

Poet-Lore. Letters by Browning. 2 : 101.

Poet-Lore. Personal Recollections of Browning. William G. Kingsland. 2 : 130.

New Review. Edmund Gosse. January, 1890. 1 : 91.

The Manhattan. "The Brownings." K. M. Rowland. June, 1884.

The Century. "A Day with the Brownings at Pratolino." Mrs. E. C. Kinney. 1 : 185.

The Argosy. E. F. Bridell-Fox. February, 1890.

III. Books of Interpretation and Criticism.

Essays on Robert Browning's Poetry. John T. Nettleship. London, 1868.

Sordello: A Story from Robert Browning. Frederic May Holland. New York: Putnams. 1881.

Stories from Robert Browning. Frederic May Holland: with Introduction by Mrs. Sutherland Orr. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1882.

A Bibliography of Robert Browning from 1833 to 1881. Compiled by Frederick J. Furnivall. London: The Browning Society, 1881.

Same, enlarged, including Shelley essay. 1882.

An Introduction to Robert Browning. A Criticism of the Purpose and Method of his Earlier Works. Bancroft Cooke. London, 1883.

Strafford: A Tragedy. With Notes and Preface by E. H. Hickey, and Introduction by S. R. Gardiner. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1884.

A Handbook to the Works of Robert Browning. Mrs. Sutherland Orr. London: George Bell & Sons. 1885.

Same, revised and enlarged. 1887.

Sordello's Story Retold in Prose. Annie Wall. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886.

Robert Browning's Poetry: Outline Studies of the Chicago Browning Society. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 1886.

An Introduction to the Study of Browning. Arthur Symons. London: Cassell & Co. 1886.

Browning's Women. Introduction by Rev. E. E. Hale. Mary E. Burt. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 1887.

Select Poems of Robert Browning. Edited, with notes, by William J. Rolfe and Heloise E. Hersey. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1887.

A Blot in the 'Scutcheon, and other Dramas [Colombe's Birthday and A Soul's Tragedy]. By Robert Browning. Edited, with notes, by William J. Rolfe and Heloise E. Hersey. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1887.

An Introduction to the Study of Robert Browning's Poetry. Hiram Corson. Boston: Heath & Co. 1888.

Studies in the Poetry of Robert Browning. James Fotheringham. London, 1887.

Same, revised and enlarged. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1888.

An Introduction to the Poetry of Robert Browning. William J. Alexander. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1889.

Sordello: An Outline Analysis of Mr. Browning's Poem. Jeanie Morison. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 1889.

Outline of Browning's Paracelsus, with a Sketch of the Paracelsus of History. Mrs. Fanny Holy. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 1889.

Browning's Message to his Time: His Religion, Philosophy, and Science. Edward Berdoe. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1890.

Robert Browning: Essays and Thoughts. John T. Nettleship. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890. [The same as Essays on Robert Browning's Poetry, but greatly enlarged with new essays.]

Robert Browning. Memorial Meeting of the Syracuse Browning Club, January 9, 1890. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. 1890.

IV. Books with Essays on Browning.

Papers on Literature and Art. "Browning's Poems." Margaret Fuller. Boston, 1846.

Essays on English Literature. "Browning and Landor." Thomas McNicoll. London, 1861.

Our Living Poets: An Essay in Criticism. H. B. Forman. London, 1871.

Essays Theological and Literary, vol. ii. R. H. Hutton. London, 1871.

Same, in Literary Essays. London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

A Comparative Estimate of Modern English Poets. J. Devey. London: Moxon. 1873.

Studies in Literature. "Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Browning." Edward Dowden. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1878.

Literary Studies. "Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning; or, Pure, Ornate, and Grotesque Art in English Poetry." Walter Bagehot. [Reprinted from The National Review, 19: 27.] London, 1879.

Poets in the Pulpit. H. R. Haweis. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1880.

Obiter Dicta. "On the Alleged Obscurity of Mr. Browning's Poetry." Augustine Birrell. London, 1884.

Urbana Scripta. Studies of Five Living Poets. Arthur Galton. London, 1885.

Chapters on English Metre. Joseph B. Mayor. London, 1886.

Poets and Problems: Tennyson, Ruskin, Browning. George Willis Cooke. Boston, 1886.

Essays on Poetry and Poets. Roden Noel. London, 1886.

Victorian Poets. Edmund C. Stedman. Boston, 1876.

Same, revised and enlarged. 1887.

Transcripts and Studies. "Mr. Browning's Sordello." Edward Dowden. London, 1888.

Studies, New and Old. "Robert Browning: Writer of Plays." W. L. Courtney. London, 1888.

Dante and other Essays. "Sordello." R. W. Church. London, 1888.

Philosophy and Religion. "Poetry and Robert Browning: a Lecture." A. H. Strong. New York, 1888.

Three Lectures on English Literature. "The Poetry of Robert Browning." William S. M'Cormack. London, 1889.

Le Renaissance de la poésie anglaise. Gabriel Sarrazin. Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1889.

Studies in Literature and Life. George E. Woodberry. [Reprinted from The Atlantic Monthly, 65 : 243.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890.

Four Great Teachers. Joseph Forster. Orpington, 1890.

V. Magazine Articles of Special Value.

North American Review. 1848. "Browning's Plays and Poems." James Russell Lowell. 66 : 357.

The Contemporary Review. 1867. "Robert Browning." 4 : 1, 133.

The Dark Blue. 1871. "Browning as a Preacher." Miss E. Dickinson West. 2 : 171, 305. [Reprinted in Littell's Living Age.]

The Contemporary Review. 1874. "Mr. Browning's Place in Literature." Mrs. Sutherland Orr. 23 : 954. [Reprinted in Littell's Living Age. 122 : 67.]

International Review. 1879. G. Barnett Smith. 6 : 176.

The Contemporary Review. January, 1890. Stopford Brooke.

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The Arena. February, 1890. "Browning's Message to the Nineteenth Century." James T. Bixby.

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The Andover Review. February, 1889. "The Tragic Motive in Browning's Dramas." Professor C. C. Everett.

GENERAL ARTICLES IN THE BROWNING SOCIETY PAPERS.

PART II.

Introductory Address to the Browning Society. By Rev. J. Kirkman. 1 : 171.
Mr. Nettleship's Classification of Browning's Works. 1 : 231.
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Notes on the Genius of Robert Browning. By James Thomson. 1 : 239.

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Browning's Intuition, specially in regard of Music and the Plastic Arts. By J. T. Nettleship. 1 : 381.
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One Aspect of Browning's Villains. By Miss D. West. 1 : 411.
Browning's Poems on God and Immortality as bearing on Life. By William F. Revell. 1 : 435.

PART V.

On Some Prominent Points in Browning's Teaching. By W. A. Raleigh. 1 : 477.
Browning's Ecclesiastics. By Rev. J. S. Jones. 1 : 109*.

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Is Browning Dramatic? By Arthur Symons. 2 : 1.
Browning as a Scientific Poet. By Edward Berdoe. 2 : 33.

PART VIII.

Development of Browning's Genius in his Capacity as Poet or Maker. By J. T. Nettleship. 2 : 55.
Browning as a Landscape Painter. By Howard Pearson. 2 : 103.
The Reasonable Rhythm of Some of Mr. Browning's Poems. By Rev. H. J. Bulkeley. 2 : 119.

PART IX.

Some Notes on Browning's Poems relating to Music. By Helen J. Ormerod. 2 : 180.

PART X.

Browning's Views of Life. By William F. Revell. 2 : 197.
Browning's Estimate of Life. By Edward Berdoe. 2 : 200.
Browning's Jews and Shakespeare's Jew. By Prof. P. A. Barnett. 2 : 207.
Browning as a Teacher of the Nineteenth Century. By Miss C. M. Whitehead. 2 : 237.

LEADING EVENTS IN ROBERT BROWNING'S LIFE.

ANCESTRY.

Robert Browning, butler, died November 25, 1746.

Thomas Browning, innkeeper, born October 1, 1721; died September 5, 1794.

Robert Browning, bank clerk, born July 26, 1749; died December 11, 1833.

Robert Browning, bank clerk, born July 6, 1782; died June 14, 1866; married Sarah Anne (Sarianna) Weidemann, born 1790 (?); died 1849.

1812. Robert Browning, born May 7, Parish of St. Giles, Camberwell, London.
Baptized June 14, by George Clayton, Congregational Chapel, Walworth.
Attended private school until fourteen.
Then had a tutor at home.

1825. Obtains Shelley's poems.

1829–30. Attends lectures at University College, London.

1833. *Pauline* published, January.

1833–34. Travels in Russia and Italy.

1835. *Paracelsus* published.

1837. *Strafford* published.
Strafford produced at the Covent Garden Theatre, May 1.

1840. *Sordello* published.

1841. Publication of *Bells and Pomegranates* begun.
Pippa Passes published.

1842. *King Victor and King Charles* published.
Dramatic Lyrics published.

1843. *The Return of the Druses* published.
A Blot in the 'Scutcheon published.
A Blot in the 'Scutcheon produced at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, February 11.

1844. *Colombe's Birthday* published.
1845. *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics* published.
1846. *Luria* published.
A Soul's Tragedy published.
Marriage of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett, September 12.
1847. Settles in Italy, at Casa Guidi, Florence.
1849. Birth of Robert Barrett Browning, March 9.
Poems published, first collected edition.
1850. *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day* published.
1852. *Introductory Essay* to (spurious) Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley published.
1853. *Colombe's Birthday* produced at The Haymarket Theatre, by Miss Helen Faucit, April 25.
1855. *Men and Women* published.
1861. Mrs. Browning died at Casa Guidi, June 29.
1863. *Poetical Works* published.
1864. *Dramatis Personæ* published.
1868. *Poetical Works* published (in six volumes).
1868–69. *The Ring and the Book* published.
1871. *Balaustion's Adventure* published, August.
Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Savior of Society, published, December.
1872. *Fifine at the Fair* published.
1873. *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country; or, Turf and Towers*, published.
1875. *Aristophanes' Apology* published, April.
The Inn Album published, November.
1877. *The Agamemnon of Æschylus* published, October.
1878. *La Saisiaz: The Two Poets of Croisic*, published.
1879. *Dramatic Idyls* published, May.
Elected President of the New Shakespeare Society.
1880. *Dramatic Idyls*, Second Series, published, July.
1881. London Browning Society holds its first meeting, October 25.
1883. *Jocoseria* published, March.
1884. *Ferishtah's Fancies* published, November.
1887. *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day* published.
1889. *Asolando: Fancies and Facts*, published, December.
Robert Browning died, Palazzo Rezzonico, Venice, December 12; buried in Westminster Abbey, December 31.

A GUIDE BOOK

TO THE

WRITINGS OF ROBERT BROWNING.

Abt Vogler. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864. No changes have been made except that in the tenth stanza "semblance" has taken the place of "likeness."

Abt Vogler was a Catholic priest (hence abt or abbé), and a musical composer. His full name was George Joseph Vogler, and he was born at Würzburg, Bavaria, June 15, 1749. He early showed musical talent, and he learned to play on several instruments without instruction. He was educated at the Jesuit school in his native town, and at Bamberg. While studying at Mannheim he attracted the attention of the Elector, Carl Theodore, who became his patron, and sent him to study counterpoint under Abbé Martini at Bologna. Tiring of this teacher in six weeks, Vogler went to Padua to study harmony and musical composition with Abbé Vallotti. Going to Rome to complete his theological studies, he was ordained a priest in 1773. Here he was warmly received, admitted to the famous academy of Arcadia, made a knight of the Golden Spur, and appointed protonotary and chamberlain to the Pope.

He returned to Mannheim in 1775, opened a music-school and published several musical works. He invented a new system of fingering for the harpsichord, which Mozart pronounced "miserable"; and he also invented a new method of building the organ, by introducing free reeds and unisonous stops. His new theories were strongly opposed, and he was called a charlatan. His school prospered, however; it

produced several able musicians, and he was made court chaplain and kapellmeister. He followed his patron to Munich in 1779, produced several operas and other works, became disappointed because he did not meet with greater success and because he was made the butt of critics, resigned his posts, and wandered in several countries. He collected the national melodies of the people in the various countries he visited. In 1786 he became the kapellmeister to the king of Sweden, and in Stockholm he opened a second music-school. At this time he invented the "Orchestrion," which was "a compact organ, with four key-boards of five octaves each, a pedal board of thirty-six keys, with swell complete." This is the instrument of his own invention on which he is extemporizing in Browning's poem. It was much praised by some; it was as violently attacked by others.

In 1790 he went to London with his instrument, gave a series of very successful concerts, and was commissioned to build an organ for the "Pantheon." Returning to Germany he met with an enthusiastic reception, brought out an opera, and published a musical work. He retained his position at Stockholm until 1799, but he visited other countries, established music schools, published various works, brought out operas and gave concerts. In 1807 he became the kapellmeister to the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, and settled in Darmstadt. Here he opened his third music-school, and had among his pupils Weber and Meyerbeer. Vogler died of apoplexy in Darmstadt, May 6, 1814, his last years having been occupied with his school and in the publication of his works. These last were on musical methods.

Much difference of opinion has existed in regard to the character of Vogler as a composer and inventor. Some have regarded him as a man of originality and a genius; by others he has been pronounced a mere charlatan. He was very eccentric, at least, and much of a visionary as to his theories. A brilliant performer, he had a madness for reform; but he had not the genius which discovers new methods of permanent value. In various ways he contributed to the growth of musical science, and he aided largely in making music popular. His visionary character, his

wonderful talent as an extemporizer, and his religious calling are well brought out in the poem.

The improvements proposed by Vogler in the construction of the organ were four in number: the introduction of smaller and less expensive pipes; the use of free reeds; a different order in the arrangement of the pipes in the wind-chest; and the discarding of mutation stops. His inventive genius did much for music, however severely he was condemned, but he had not the wise judgment which was necessary to perfect success. He suggested rather than accomplished great results.

"It was as an organist and theorist," says the writer in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "that Vogler made most stir. It would be difficult to find an important town in central Europe in which he had not performed on the organ. He could stretch two octaves with ease, and practice had turned this natural advantage to such good use that he was indisputably the first organist of his age. His extempore playing never failed to create an impression, and in the elevated fugal style he easily distanced all rivals." "It is as a teacher," says the same authority, "that Vogler has most claims on posterity, for no musician has ever had so many remarkable pupils. As a teacher of singing he was in great request."

The following account of the musician is given by Dr. J. H. Mee, a musical critic: "Vogler was short in stature, and latterly became corpulent. His arms were of great length, his hands enormous, and his general aspect has been described as that of a fat ape. His singular character was strongly tinged with vanity, and not without a touch of arrogance. He delighted to array himself in his purple stockings and gold buckles, with his black silk ecclesiastical mantle, and the great cross of the Order of Merit given him by the Grand Duke of Hesse. He would take his prayer-book with him into society, and often keep his visitors waiting while he finished his devotions. Beneath his quaint exterior lay remarkable mental gifts, a great insight into character, and a powerful memory. Nor were his egotism and affectation without counterbalancing excellences. He was always anxious to avoid a quarrel, ready to acknowledge the merits of brother artists, and to defend them

even if they had opposed him, provided their music was good. The civility which he showed to Mozart is in marked contrast to Mozart's behavior towards him. Moreover, his vanity did not blind him to his own defects. He was well aware that harmony, not melody, was the department in which he excelled. An enthusiastic contemporary, Schubart, calls him an epoch-making man. The expression is too strong, but as a musical iconoclast Vogler certainly did excellent service. His incessant attacks on the pedantic methods of musical instruction and systems of harmony in vogue, and on the old methods of organ-building, were often extravagant and untrue, as, for example, the statement that Bach did not know what a chorale was. . . . As a composer it was his aim to retain the simple and severe beauty of the old church music and yet enrich it with the wealth of harmony at the command of modern music."

It has been said that Vogler's music has been lost; but this statement is not true. His *Missa Pastoricia* is performed every Christmas at the Hofkapelle, Vienna. Herr Richter reports that he has heard this mass more than once, and he describes it as a remarkably fine composition, with beautiful effects for oboes and horns. Other works of Vogler's are accessible, and are not infrequently met with. Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* gives the best account of Vogler in English, also a full list of his works. *The Browning Society's Papers*, number ten, 2 : 221 and 2 : 229*, gives an extended biographical account of Vogler by Helen J. Ormerod ; and a briefer sketch will be found in number three, 1 : 339, by Eleanor Marx.

An excellent interpretation of the poem is that by Mrs. Turnbull in number four of *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 469 and 1 : 79*. It brings out fully Browning's indebtedness to the idealistic philosophy of Plato, Spinoza, Hegel, More and Norris, for the ideas presented in the poem. It is shown that these thinkers have regarded music as the art most capable of interpreting the spiritual world, or, in the words of the *Religio Medici*, as having " something in it of divinity more than the ear discovers." Other expositions are those of the Rev. J. Kirkman, in *The Browning Society's Papers* number two, 1 : 180, and Corson, in his *Introduction to Browning*.

Adam, Lilith and Eve. *Jocoseria*, 1883. This poem is based on the Hebrew rabbinical legend, that Adam had a wife before Eve, whose name was Lilith. The origin of the legend is to be found in the two accounts of the creation of man and woman, contained in Genesis. In the first account, Genesis i. 27, man and woman were created together; in the second, ii. 18, the man is created first, and afterwards the woman taken from his side. The Talmudists explained the first text by saying that the wife created of clay with Adam was Lilith; but she became proud and willful, and would not submit to Adam's rule. Finding they could not agree she left him and fled to the sea, where she had many children, who were demons; and because she would not return to Adam a hundred of her children died each day. Another form of the legend says God drove her out of Paradise and then created Eve in the manner of the second account; and for the reasons there given. The legend also says that Lilith married the Devil and became the mother of the Jins, a race of beings having the characteristics of both men and demons. In Hebrew popular legend Lilith was a destroyer of infants; and the names of protecting angels were written on parchment and bound on children to counteract her influence. Her name was associated with the screech-owl as a being of night and desolation. The lilith was often described as a nocturnal spectre in the form of a beautiful woman, who stole away children in the night and destroyed them. The word "lullaby" is referred by some philologists to Lilith.

The details of this legend are not used by the poet; and he makes Lilith and Eve both seek for the love of Adam at the same time. In fact, he uses nothing more of the legend than the names. The poem is a study of character, and especially of the influence of fear in causing an expression of the true nature of the individual. The women make confession of their real thoughts under the effects of fear; but when the danger is past they seek to annul the confession by giving it a trifling interpretation. Although the poem is a short one it contains a subtle study of two forms of love in women, and of the masculine manner of receiving that love.

After. See *Before* to which this poem is the sequel. The two were published together, as one poem.

Agamemnon of Æschylus, The. This is a translation, first published in October, 1877, by Smith, Elder and Co., London. Pages i.–vi. 1–148.

The *Agamemnon* is the first play in the trilogy of *Orestes*. The Orestean is the only extant specimen of a trilogy; and it is undoubtedly the greatest of the works of Aeschylus. It was written with reference to the political and religious condition of Athens at the time of its presentation, and in the interests of the conservative party, but without marked effect. It is based on the story of Agamemnon, as related in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and on the belief that wrongdoing is punished, even to the third and fourth generation, or until some one makes expiation for the sin committed. The story is this: Atreus, son of Pelops, avenged himself of a wrong done by his brother Thyestes, by inviting him to a banquet consisting of the flesh of Thyestes' children, of which the father unconsciously partook. This horrible crime brought dark evils upon the family until it was expiated by Orestes. Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks against Troy, was the son of the impious Atreus, and this relation brought upon him the infidelity of his wife, and his own death at her hands. While he was at Troy, Clytemnestra had taken as her paramour Ægisthus, a son of Thyestes. Two years after, Troy was conquered, and Agamemnon returned to his home, bringing with him Cassandra as a concubine.

At the opening of *Agamemnon* the watch set by Clytemnestra has discovered the signal agreed upon for reporting the end of the war. Soon after follows a herald announcing the speedy return of the king. In a few days Agamemnon appears, accompanied by Cassandra, who has prophetic gifts of a remarkable kind. When the king and queen pass into the palace, after the first salutations are over, Cassandra begins to see in vision, and to describe to the chorus, the sins of the family, and to behold the death of the king and herself. Then is heard the death-cry of Agamemnon as he is being murdered by Clytemnestra and Ægisthus. Cassandra rushes into the palace, and meets a like fate. Then Clytemnestra declares that she has been the hand of fate to avenge the death of Iphigenia her daughter, who had been slain by Agamemnon to appease the wrath of Artemis; and also that she has avenged the evil brought upon her by the presence of Cassandra.

In the *Libation Pourers* Orestes becomes the avenger of the death of his father Agamemnon by the death of Clytemnestra, his mother. In the *Eumenides* the Furies pursue Orestes because of the sins of his family, until he makes expiation at the shrine of the Delphic oracle, when the curse is removed.

In the preface to this translation Browning sets forth the principles which he has followed in producing it. These are, that it should be literal at every cost; and that it should reproduce the peculiarities of the original. He has also attempted to reproduce the Greek spelling in English, after a manner of his own. Mr. Frederic Harrison says of this translation, that "its uncouthness is not the rugged majesty of Æschylus." On the other hand, Professor J. P. Mahaffy says that the translator "has given us an over-faithful version from his matchless hand — matchless in conveying the deeper spirit of the Greek poets. But in this instance he has outdone his original in ruggedness, owing to his excess of conscience as a translator."

In *The Athenæum* of October 27, 1877, is a long review of the translation, in the course of which the writer discusses its merits as follows: "He (the translator) proposed to himself a poetical translation of the most rigid literality, and manfully has kept his word. In the choruses alone does he allow himself some very slight latitude, expanding the actual, but never engrafting an alien, meaning. These choruses are rhymed, and some percentage of their rhymes are double ones, which increases the lyrical effect and trebles the difficulty. They have evidently taxed the resources of the best English rhymist since the author of *Hudibras* to the utmost. The trochaic and anapæstic measures of the original are approximately rendered. The speeches and dialogues follow the ordinary trimeter iambics of Greek tragedy. They reproduce word for word, and line for line, the sense of the original. None of the prose versions which we have seen is, choruses excepted, so literal as Mr. Browning. . . . And because Mr. Browning has nobly and unfalteringly acted up to these precepts, his transcription is most unequal in its excellence. Had he been less conscientious, he could, no man better, have given us not one bald or commonplace line. . . . But Mr. Browning has

splendidly denied himself, and is unflinchingly crude, pointless, even clumsy, where the Greek pushes and compels him. Yet in the most rugged passages he never once flings his literality overboard. . . . His verbal resource is amazing. But here and again, when, under his masterly touch, the Greek has rendered itself for a page without to us apparent effort, word for word, and phrase for phrase, into English eloquent and sonorous, all at once some single line crops up which cannot be rendered both beautifully and exactly, so Mr. Browning leaves it unbeautiful and bald, and careers on as finely as before. . . . Mr. Browning is never obscure in the compass of the present translation. When he seems so, turn to the original, and there the obscurity will be found. Indeed, so anxious is he to set forth his author clearly that he manages to make very plausible-looking sense out of many a dubious periphrasis."

The readers of Browning's translation of the *Agamemnon* will find much valuable help in the introduction and notes to Professor E. H. Plumptre's translation of the works of Æschylus. Many of the obscurities are there explained, as well as the historical and other allusions. See *The Academy*, Nov. 3, 1877, by J. A. Symonds; *The Edinburgh Review*, 147: 409; Boston *Literary World*, 13: 419.

A King lived long ago. The song of Pippa in *Pippa Passes*, as she goes by the house of Luigi, vol. 1, p. 356, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works*. See *The King*, in this volume. This song was first published in *The Monthly Repository*, edited by W. J. Fox, in 1835. In 1841 it was incorporated into *Pippa Passes*.

All Service ranks the same with God. Pippa's New Year's hymn in *Pippa Passes*, vol. 1, p. 341, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works*.

Amphibian. The prologue to *Fifine at the Fair*, as reprinted in the second series of *Selections* from his poems made by Browning himself.

Anael. The young girl in *The Return of the Druses*, who loves Djabal, and who believes in his being the Hakeem.

Andrea del Sarto. Published first as the opening poem of the second volume of *Men and Women*, 1855; and it has since remained in that collection of poems.

Andrea del Sarto was born at Gualfonda, Florence, in

1486 or 1487. His father was a tailor, hence his name "Sarto"; translated into English his name would be "Andrew the tailor." The question as to his real name seems not to be settled, as to whether it was Vanucchi or some other. He was apprenticed to a goldsmith, then to a woodcarver and painter; but he was soon drawn to painting as the one thing he cared for. By 1509 he had obtained quite a reputation as a painter; and he then produced several excellent works for the Servite monks, which brought him much praise. It was at this time he was given the name of "Andrea senza errori" or "Andrew the unerring"; sometimes given as "il pittore senza errori" or "the faultless painter."

It is said that Andrea del Sarto worked with rapidity and great correctness of touch, but that naturally he was timid and diffident. He remained a plebeian in his manner of life; he was easy-going and sociable and fully enjoyed life wherever he might be. He fell in love with Lucrezia del Fede, the wife of a hatter who died soon after, and del Sarto married her in 1512. She was beautiful, but of a somewhat sensual type, selfish and exacting. Recent historians, however, have given her a nobler character than that attributed to her by Browning. Andrea often painted her as a Madonna, and all his women partook of her type.

In June, 1518, Andrea went to France at the invitation of Francis I., leaving his wife behind. He did some excellent work for the king, but his wife urged him to return, and after a few months he obtained permission for a brief season. Francis entrusted him with a considerable sum of money with which to buy pictures; but this money was spent by Andrea in building a house for himself at Florence, and his wife induced him to abandon his purpose of returning to France. In 1525 he painted his masterpiece, the *Madonna of the Sack*. He died January 22, 1531, at the age of forty-three, of the infectious pestilence which followed the siege of the city shortly before. His wife did not attend him in his last illness, and he was buried with little ceremony.

Andrea del Sarto painted a large number of pictures, many of them of high merit, of which all the best are in Florence. Vasari was introduced to Andrea by Michelangelo, and the latter said to Vasari: "There is a little

fellow in Florence who will bring sweat to your brow if ever he is engaged in great works." He was lacking in ideality and elevation of thought; but he had a true pictorial style, a very high standard of correctness, and an enviable balance of executive endowments. He had almost everything necessary to the making of a great painter except inspiration and a deep consecration to a high purpose. In every outward requirement of art he was unerring in his certainty of touch, and he was faultless in his executive power. A vital defect lurked at the heart of his work, however, and it lacked the inspiration of a great soul.

In his work on the *Fine Arts* in Italy during the Renaissance Mr. J. A. Symonds, in speaking of Andrea del Sarto as the faultless painter, describes his work and the defect which gave him this designation. "What they meant," says Mr. Symonds of those who gave him the name, "must have been that in all technical requirements of art, in drawing, composition, handling of fresco and oils, disposition of draperies, and feeling for light and shadow, he was above criticism. As a colorist he went further and produced more beautiful effects than any Florentine before him. His silver-gray harmonies and liquid blendings of hues, cool, yet lustrous, have a charm peculiar to himself alone. We find the like nowhere else in Italy. And yet Andrea del Sarto cannot take rank among the greatest Renaissance painters. What he lacked was precisely the most precious gift — inspiration, depth of emotion, energy of thought. We are apt to feel that even his best pictures were designed with a view to solving an æsthetic problem. Very few have the poetic charm belonging to the *S. John* of the Pitti or the *Madonna* of the Tribune. Beautiful as are many of his types, like the Magdalen in the large picture of the *Pietà*, we can never be sure that he will not break the spell by forms of almost vulgar mediocrity. The story that his wife, a worthless woman, sat for his Madonnas, and the legends of his working for money to meet pressing needs, seem justified by numbers of his paintings, faulty in their faultlessness and want of spirit. Still, after all these deductions, we must allow that Andrea del Sarto not unworthily represents the golden age at Florence. There is no affectation, no false taste, no trickery in his style. His

workmanship is always solid; his hand unerring. If Nature denied him the soul of a poet and the stern will needed for escaping from the sordid circumstances of his life, she gave him some of the highest qualities a painter can desire — qualities of strength, tranquillity and thoroughness, that in the decline of the century ceased to exist outside Venice."

Browning took his conception of Andrea del Sarto from Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, in which the painter is described in these words: "In Andrea del Sarto nature and art combined to show all that may be done in painting, when design, coloring and invention unite in one and the same person. Had this master possessed a somewhat bolder and more elevated mind; had he been as much distinguished for higher qualifications as he was for genius and depth of judgment in the art he practiced, he would, beyond all doubt, have been without an equal. But there was a certain timidity of mind, a sort of diffidence and want of force in his nature, which rendered it impossible that those evidences of ardor and animation which are proper to the more exalted character, should ever appear in him; nor did he at any time display one particle of that elevation which, could it have been added to the advantages wherewith he was endowed, would have rendered him a truly divine painter: wherefore the works of Andrea are wanting in those ornaments of grandeur, richness, and force, which appear so conspicuously in those of many other masters. His figures are, nevertheless, well drawn, they are entirely free from errors, and perfect in their proportions, and are for the most part simple and chaste: the expression of his heads is natural and graceful in women and children, while in youths and old men it is full of life and animation. The draperies of this master are beautiful to a marvel, and the nude figures are admirably executed, the drawing is simple, the coloring is most exquisite, nay, it is truly divine."

This poem is in a large measure a poetic rendering of the prose account of Vasari, even to the character of Lucrezia. In the first edition of his work Vasari gives a quite full account of her, but this is abbreviated and softened somewhat in the second. The following is the full account given in

the first edition, and from which Browning evidently drew his picture of this fascinating and selfish woman. As Vasari was taught his art by del Sarto he must have known her well and had a good basis of fact for his description, though he may have colored it somewhat to her prejudice.

"At that time," says Vasari, "there was a most beautiful girl in the Via di San Gallo, who was married to a cap-maker, and who, though born of a poor and vicious father, carried about her as much pride and haughtiness as beauty and fascination. She delighted in trapping the hearts of men, and among others ensnared the unlucky Andrea, whose immoderate love for her soon caused him to neglect the studies demanded by his art, and in great measure to discontinue the assistance which he had given to his parents.

"Now it chanced that a sudden and grievous illness seized the husband of this woman, who rose no more from his bed, but died thereof. Without taking counsel of his friends, therefore; without regard to the dignity of his art or the consideration due to his genius, and to the eminence he had attained with so much labor; without a word, in short, to any of his kindred, Andrea took this Lucrezia di Baccio del Fede, such was the name of the woman, to be his wife; her beauty appearing to him to merit thus much at his hands, and his love for her having more influence over him than the glory and honor towards which he had begun to make such hopeful advances. But when this news became known in Florence, the respect and affection which his friends had previously borne to Andrea changed to contempt and disgust, since it appeared to them that the darkness of this disgrace had obscured for a time all the glory and renown obtained by his talents.

"But he destroyed his own peace as well as estranged his friends by this act, seeing that he soon became jealous, and found that he had besides fallen into the hands of an artful woman, who made him do as she pleased in all things. He abandoned his own father and mother, for example, and adopted the father and sisters of his wife in their stead; insomuch that all who knew the facts mourned over him, and he soon began to be as much avoided as he had been previously sought after. His disciples still remained with him, it

is true, in the hope of learning something useful, yet there was not one of them, great or small, who was not maltreated by his wife, both by evil words and despiteful actions; none could escape her blows, but although Andrea lived in the midst of all that torment, he yet accounted it a high pleasure."

In the second edition of Vasari's work the above account of Lucrezia was displaced by the following: "But having fallen in love with a young woman whom on her becoming a widow he took for his wife, he found that he had enough to do for the remainder of his days, and was subsequently obliged to work much more laboriously than he had previously done; for in addition to the duties and liabilities which engagements of that kind are wont to bring with them, Andrea del Sarto found that he had brought on himself many others; he was now tormented with jealousy, now by one thing, now by another; but ever by some evil consequence of his new connection."

Baldinucci says that when Jacopo da Empoli was copying del Sarto's picture on *The Birth of the Virgin*, in 1570, an aged lady, while on her way to mass, stopped to talk with him. She pointed out to him one of the figures in the fresco as that of Andrea's wife, and finally she revealed to him that she was herself Lucrezia del Fede.

Andrea del Sarto painted a portrait of himself and wife which is now in the Pitti palace, Florence. In this picture the painter is seen in three-quarter face, with his right hand around his wife and resting on her shoulder, while with his left hand he is appealing to her as he speaks. The wife is presented in full face, with a letter in her hand and a golden chain on her neck. Mrs. Browning's cousin, John Kenyon, asked for a copy of this portrait, but Browning could not find one, and he wrote this poem to take its place, putting into verse what he thought was the meaning of the picture.

In *The Browning Society's Papers*, part two, p. 160, is printed a letter, written by Mr. Ernest Radford, which contains a description of this picture with reference to the poem. "The artist and his wife," he says, "are presented at half length. Andrea turns towards her with a pleading expression on his face — a face not so beautiful as that in the splendid portrait in the National Gallery; but when once felt, it strikes a deeper chord. It wears an expression that

cannot be forgotten, that nothing can suggest but the poem of Browning. Andrea's right arm is round her; he leans forward as if searching her face for the strength that has gone from himself. She is beautiful. I have seen the face (varied as a musician varies his theme) in a hundred pictures. She holds the letter in her hand, and looks neither at that nor at him, but straight out of the canvas. And the beautiful face with the red brown hair is passive and unruffled, and awfully expressionless. There is silent thunder in this face if there ever was, though there is no anger. It suggests only a very mild, and at the same time immutable determination to have her own way. Any one who has sat, as I have, looking at the picture of which I write, will feel that the poem is true, not merely typically but historically."

The Andrea del Sarto of Vasari and the Pitti portrait is described in an exact manner in the poem; but he is also made to teach a lesson of high ideal import with reference both to art and life. He fully recognizes his own imperfections as a man and as an artist, for he is not able to paint the soul as well as the body. He praises the work of Raphael as more perfect than his own, because it aspires to an ideal meaning rather than to a technical perfection. This he expresses by saying that "a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what 's a heaven for?"

Michel Agnolo. The more correct form of Michaelangelo. — *The Urbinate.* Raphael, from Urbino, the place of his birth. — *Leonard.* Leonardo da Vinci.

The chief pictures of Andrea del Sarto are to be found in Florence. In the Uffizi palace are a *Madonna*, *St. James*, and two portraits. In the Pitti palace are *The Entombment*, *Holy Family*, *The Story of Joseph*, *Madonna in Glory*, *Dispute about the Trinity*, *The Assumption*, and *St. John Baptist*. The Accademia delle belle Arti has the *Four Saints*, and a fresco. The Scalzo contains fourteen frescos. St. Annunziata has the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Madonna of the Sack*. The Convent of St. Salvi contains the *Last Supper*. The most important of his other pictures are the *Holy Family*, Louvre, Paris; *Madonna*, Berlin Gallery; *Sacrifice of Abraham*, Dresden; *Holy Family*, Dulwich, England.

In his *Six Months in Italy* Hillard says of Andrea del

Sarto's works in the Pitti palace: "This gallery is rich in the productions of Andrea del Sarto, a very pleasing artist, who came very near being a great one. He is a decided mannerist. His pictures have the strongest family likeness, and even the dresses of his Virgins seem all to have been cut from the same piece of cloth." In his *Italian Note-books* Hawthorne says of the same pictures: "There is too large an admixture of Andrea del Sarto's pictures in this gallery: everywhere you see them, cold, proper, and uncriticisable, looking so much like first-rate excellence, that you inevitably quarrel with your own taste for not admiring them."

On the other hand, in his *Essays and Studies*, Swinburne highly praises the frescoes in St. Annunziata. Of *The Birth of the Virgin* in the same collection Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that it is "on the highest level ever reached in fresco." Writing of the *Holy Family* in the Pitti palace, Swinburne says: "At Florence only can one trace and tell how great a painter and how various Andrea was. There only, but surely there, can the spirit and presence of the things of time on his immortal spirit be understood."

See *The Browning Society's Papers*, Albert Fleming, number eight, 2 : 9, for an interpretation of the poem.

A photographic copy of Andrea del Sarto's picture has been published by the London Browning Society. A sketch of Andrea's life, with a wood-cut copy of the picture, is given in the *Woman's World* for April, 1890.

Another Way of Love. See *One Way of Love*, to which this poem is the sequel.

Any Wife to Any Husband. *Men and Women*, in 1855; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

The speaker is a woman about to die, who is addressing her husband. They have loved each other deeply; but the wife realizes that her presence is necessary to the perfect continuance of her husband's affection. When she is gone he will seek other women, whereas she will remain forever true to him, and would do so if he were to die first. See essay on the love poems in John T. Nettleship's *On Robert Browning: Essays and Thoughts.*

Apollo and the Fates. Prologue to *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in Their Day*, 1887.

The reference to the *Hymn to Hermes*, attributed to Homer; the *Eumenides*, or *Furies*, of Æschylus; and the *Alcestis* of Euripides, indicate the authorities for the character of Apollo given in this short dramatic poem. The reference to Homer may be supplied in the translation of George Chapman, extending the quotation somewhat beyond that indicated by the poet.

> "There dwell
> Within a crooked cranny, in a dell
> Beneath Parnassus, certain sisters born,
> Called Parcæ, whom extreme swift wings adorn;
> Their number three, that have upon their heads
> White barley-flour still sprinkled, and are maids;
> And these are schoolmistresses of things to come,
> Without the gift of prophecy. Of whom
> (Being but a boy, and keeping oxen near)
> I learned their skill, though my great Father were
> Careless of it, or them. These flying from home
> To others' roofs, and fed with honeycomb,
> Command all skill, and (being enraged then)
> Will freely tell the truths of things to men.
> But if they give them not that God's sweet meat,
> They then are apt to utter their deceit,
> And lead men from their way."

The reference to the *Eumenides* may be supplied with the help of Plumptre's translation.

> "This didst thou also in the house of Pheres,
> Winning the Fates to make a man immortal.
> Thou hast o'erthrown, yea, thou, laws hoar with age,
> And drugged with wine the ancient Goddesses."

Potter's translation will indicate the reference to the *Alcestis*, by expanding its limits. Apollo says, at the opening of the drama: —

> "The son of Pheres; him from death I saved,
> The Fates beguiling."

Then Orcus replies: —

> "Thou dost wrong, again
> The infernal realms defrauding of their honors,
> Torn from them, or delayed. Sufficed it not
> To have snatched Admetus from his doom, the Fates
> With fraudful arts deluding?"

In the *Alcestis*, at the opening of the tragedy, Apollo secures a respite for Admetus, on condition that some one will die in his stead. Euripides does not relate how Apollo wins

this privilege from the Fates. Mr. Browning undertakes to supply that defect.

Apollo descends to the under-world, and asks that the years of Admetus may be extended. The Fates refuse, call Apollo hard names, and say it is better for man to have few days. Apollo says that man really craves for long life; but the Fates will make no concession. Then Apollo offers them wine: they resist its temptation for a time, but finally yield, and immediately on drinking feel its inspiring effects. Then Apollo discourses of man, his mingled woe and weal, and his life under the guidance of reason. The Fates are not convinced, but Apollo shows how man's life is capable of goodness, and how its defeat really becomes a triumph. The Fates say it is not theirs to make the law of man's life; that they accomplish what is willed by the Higher Powers. Apollo begs for Admetus, when the Fates concede him longer life on condition that some other person take his place. Apollo declares that many will be glad to make the sacrifice. The Fates laugh at this suggestion; but Apollo assures them that Admetus will die rather than accept such an exchange, that he will spurn it as a thing unworthy.

See Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*, and *The Browning Society's Papers*, number nine, 2: 169, paper by Arthur Symons.

Apparent Failure. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

When Browning was once passing through Paris, the Morgue, a small Doric building on one of the quays, was about to be destroyed, as announced in a city newspaper. He wrote this poem with the purpose of saving the building. He relates in the poem what he had seen in the Morgue seven years before, in the summer of 1856, when he was in the city to witness the baptism of Prince Louis Napoleon, only child of Napoleon III., Emperor of France. As he was walking along the banks of the Seine, he thought of the Congress of the European Powers then being held in the city with reference to the freedom and unity of Italy, in which a prominent part was taken by Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian minister of foreign affairs; Cavour, the great Italian statesman, then prime minister of Piedmont; and Count Buol, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs. Cavour sought to interest the Powers in behalf of Italy, but

Buol opposed any intervention. As the poet meditated on these affairs of state, he entered the Morgue, and saw three bodies awaiting identification. The men whose bodies were thus exposed had committed suicide by drowning, one from ambition, one becaused he despaired of the realization of the socialist ideal, and one from love. The poem closes with an emphatic declaration of faith in there being another opportunity for such men as these, in the life to come. The line in the second stanza on Petrarch's Vaucluse is explained by Corson: "Fontaine de Vaucluse, a celebrated fountain, in the department of Vaucluse, in Southern France, the source of the Sorgue. The village named after it was for some time the residence of Petrarch."

Apparitions. The introduction or proem to *The Two Poets of Croisic* was printed in the second series of *Selections* made from his poems by Browning, 1880, under this title. Set to music by Sig. F. Tetaldi; published by London Browning Society. Also set to music by E. C. Gregory. London: Novello, Ewer & Co. Also by Miss Helen A. Clarke. Philadelphia: Poet-Lore Co.; the same in *Poet-Lore* for May, 1890.

Appearances. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*, 1876.

The speaker is a man who is addressing the woman he loves. He has brought her from a poorly furnished room to one beautifully adorned; and she is full of praise. He prefers the old room, because it was there she had plighted troth to him. The poem takes its title from the man not caring for the appearance of the room so much as for the love which he has found in it, while the woman is much influenced by the externals of her situation, and this fact tends to lower the quality of her love.

Aprile. In *Paracelsus*, an Italian poet who wishes to love, and as exclusively as Paracelsus aspires to know. He represents the emotions as Paracelsus represents reason. He is a being of feeling and of passionate yearnings for affection. He fails because he cultivates only the emotional side of his life.

Arcades Ambo. *Asolando*, 1889.

This poem is an argument against vivisection. Dr. Berdoe says it is "a delicate satire on the cowardice of those who advocate vivisection on the ground of its utility in medi-

cine. The poet says that the man who would have animals tortured for the relief of his own pain is as great a poltroon as the soldier who runs away in battle when the balls fly about. Both shun death, and both are cowards to be scorned. Some persons affect to see in this attitude of the poet proof that he was not imbued with the scientific spirit; that his early religious training and connections had made him afraid of science; but surely a man is no more expected to follow science blindfold than to adopt the same behavior toward all the claims made for blind adhesion in the name of religion. It would appear, though, that science can be quite as exacting as religion in her claims for the entire allegiance of her followers. Mr. Browning resented the arrogance of both. His anti-vivisection sympathies were no mere philanthropic "fads," no mere amiable fancy adopted by chance, or arising simply from kindness of heart. They were demanded by his ethical system, and were the direct outcome of his philosophy of life. Love is the one word which sums up his moral teaching; love to God reflected in the service of man. To have excluded anything which lives and suffers from the influence of this love, would have offered violence to the principles which animated every line of his works, from *Pauline* to *Asolando*." See *Browning's Message to his Time*, by Edward Berdoe.

Aristophanes' Apology. Published in 1875, by Smith, Elder and Co., London. It bears the title in full of *Aristophanes' Apology, including a Transcript from Euripides, being the Last Adventure of Balaustion.* The transcript from Euripides is a translation of the *Herakles Mainomenos* or *Raging Hercules* of that tragic poet. Pages, i.–viii., 1–366; *Herakles*, 209–327.

This poem is a sequel to *Balaustion's Adventure.* It contains the story of her life until after the capture of Athens by Sparta and her allies; and it relates how she came to return to Rhodes. Euripides is still her hero, and the poem compares him with Aristophanes. In the first adventure Euripides saved her life and the lives of her companions; in this poem he saves Athens from utter destruction. Aristophanes is introduced as the antagonist of Euripides, and as seeking to defend his own dramatic methods. The poem is crowded with learning; and the life of the time in most

of its phases is brought before us. The poem is in a large degree a study of Aristophanes and his poetry.

Aristophanes belonged to the conservative party in Athens, the party which desired the return of "the good old times." He opposed Socrates, Euripides, and the other progressive men of his day, ridiculed them, and cast contempt on their opinions. He threw contempt on the new social theories of the time, in the interest of a conservative and reactionary policy. He especially attacked the new theories about women, which seem to have been rife among the radical thinkers of the day. His view of life was not serious, but comic; he represented the natural instincts of man, and joy in the senses.

Mr. J. A. Symonds says he is the greatest comic poet of the world. His plays are vast scenic allegories or farces of Titanic purpose. They are "fantastic entertainments, debauches of reason and imagination." They are "a radiant and pompous show, by which the genius of the Greek race chose, as it were in bravado, to celebrate an apotheosis of the animal functions of humanity." He brings to light the nudeness of human life, and what is usually hid; no passion is too vile, no instinct too indelicate, according to our notions, for him to introduce it into his comedies. He had wit, imagination, and comic power in a supreme degree; and he used these in a robust and vigorous manner. He was brilliant, versatile, and original; and yet he had the gift of turning everything into an occasion for laughter and fun. How far his laughter had a serious purpose in satire and criticism, it is not possible to say. He made sport of Socrates, and yet he was a member of the Socratic circle and the friend of Socrates.

Much diversity of opinion exists as to the political aims of Aristophanes. Thirlwall, Müller, and many others, think he was sound in principle and purpose, and that he stood against tendencies that were corrupting and revolutionary. On the other hand, Grote condemns him as the worst enemy of his city, a reckless conservative and a mischievous enemy of its best men. Mr. Symonds takes a middle course between these two, and thinks the great comic poet was right in purpose, but often wrong in his methods.

The comedies of Aristophanes have been described as

"madness methodized and with a sober meaning." Grote regards Aristophanes as a man who excited the worst passions of the Athenians, and who did all he could to lead his countrymen astray morally. Others see in him a great ethical teacher, with a high and pure purpose; but this view has little to support it. All that was vigorous in the naturalism of the Greeks he helped to foster; and his naturalism was of the most open and unconscious kind.

The *Heraklēs* is quite literally turned into English, on the same lines of transcription of those set forth in the preface to the *Agamemnon*. In Mahaffy's *Greek Literature*, and also in his *Euripides*, may be found a helpful analysis of the play, and an outline of its plot. In the first of these works, the author says: "We can now recommend the admirable translation in Mr. Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*, as giving English readers a thoroughly faithful idea of this splendid play. The choral odes are, moreover, done justice to, and translated into adequate metre." In the latter work he mentions Mr. Browning's "admirable version, which is so striking in its combination of two subjects that it almost deserves to be called a drama of plot."

An excellent study of Aristophanes and his works will be found in Mahaffy's *History of Greek Literature*. A more extended but less valuable work is Collins' *Aristophanes*, in the series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers*. Kennedy's translation of the *Birds* has a valuable introduction, which will be found to give much important aid in understanding the life and works of Aristophanes. The best study of Aristophanes and his works is contained in Symonds' *Studies of the Greek Poets*, first series, in which his literary characteristics are presented in a most interesting and suggestive manner. This last essay, together with that in the same volume on Euripides, will be found very helpful in rounding out the view of these poets presented by Mr. Browning. Mr. Symonds more fully treats some phases of the subject than it was possible for Mr. Browning to do in his poem, and he comes very near the truth in his estimate of Aristophanes, both as a poet and in his relations to morality.

In order fully to comprehend Browning's poem, it is necessary to know the history of Athens in the period of its

greatest power, and just before its downfall. It is also necessary to understand the history of the drama in Athens, the origin and growth of comedy, and the relations of Aristophanes to all the phases of the life of his time. Müller's *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece* will be found of much value in making such a study, as will also Donaldson's *Theater of the Greeks*. A later and very suggestive work is Moulton's *Ancient Classical Drama*.

The whole poem is a discussion of the comparative merits, not only of Euripides and Aristophanes, and of tragedy and comedy, but of the ideal and the real in literature. On the merits of this discussion Mr. Mahaffy says, in his *Greek Literature*, that Browning "has treated the controversy between Euripides and Aristophanes with more learning and ability than all other critics, in his *Aristophanes' Apology*, which is an *Euripides' Apology* also, if such be required at the present day."

Browning evidently made an extensive use of the scholiasts or Greek commentators on Aristophanes, in the writing of this poem. Among those who have thus added to our knowledge of Aristophanes and his work may be mentioned Plutarch, Callimachus, Aristarchus, Crates, Didymus, Symmachus, and many later writers. These comments have been edited by Dindorf and Dübner, and works upon them have been published by Schneider, Ritschl, and Keil.

A scene from Plato's *Symposium*, as translated by Professor Jowett, will give the clue to the scene when Aristophanes bursts into the house of Balaustion and her husband. "Agathon arose," says Plato, "in order that he might take his place on the couch of Socrates, when suddenly a band of revelers entered, and spoiled the order of the banquet. Some one who was going out having left the door open, they had found their way in, and made themselves at home. Great confusion ensued, and every one was compelled to drink large quantities of wine. Aristodemus said that Eryxemachus, Phaedrus and others went away. He himself fell asleep, and, as the nights were long, took a good rest. He was awakened towards daybreak by a crowing of cocks, and when he awoke, the others either were asleep or had gone away. There remained only Socrates, Aristophanes, and Agathon, who were drinking out of a

large goblet, which they passed round, and Socrates was discoursing to them. Aristodemus did not hear the beginning of the discourse, and he was only half awake, but the chief thing which he remembered was Socrates insisting to the other two that the genius of comedy was the same as that of tragedy, and that the writer of tragedy ought to be a writer of comedy also. To this they were compelled to assent, being sleepy, and not quite understanding his meaning. And first of all Aristophanes dropped asleep, and then, when the day was already dawning, Agathon. Socrates, when he had put them to sleep, rose to depart, Aristodemus, as his manner was, following him. At the Lyceum he took a bath, and passed the day as usual, and when evening came, he retired to rest at his own house."

Not only has Browning drawn upon such descriptions as this, but he has employed an actual historical incident as the basis of his poem. Athens was saved by Euripides. When the war had been brought to an end by the Spartan capture of Athens, the conquerer, Lysander, decreed the destruction of the long walls. The doom of utter ruin, however, was prevented by the skillful use of one of the songs of Euripides. This incident is drawn from Plutarch's biography of Lysander, the Spartan general. Browning identifies the man of Phokis mentioned there with Euthukles. This Phokian saved the city by his appeal to the Greek love of lofty poetic sentiments. Plutarch, as translated by Clough, says : —

"Lysander, as soon as he had taken all the ships except twelve, and the walls of the Athenians, on the sixteenth day of the month Munychion, the same on which they had overcome the barbarians at Salamis, then proceeded to take measures for altering the government. But the Athenians taking that very unwillingly and resisting, he sent to the people and informed them that he found that the city had broken the terms, for the walls were standing when the days were past within which they should have been pulled down. He should therefore consider their case anew, they having broken their first articles. And some state, in fact, the proposal was made in the congress of the allies, that the Athenians should all be sold as slaves; on which occasion, Erianthus, the Theban, gave his vote to pull down the city,

and turn the country into sheep-pasture; yet afterwards, when there was a meeting of the captains together, a man of Phocis, singing the first chorus in Euripides' *Electra*, which begins,

> 'Electra, Agamemnon's child, I come
> Unto thy desert home,'

they were all melted with compassion, and it seemed to be a cruel deed to destroy and pull down a city which had been so famous, and produced such men.

"Accordingly Lysander, the Athenians yielding up everything, sent for a number of flute-women out of the city, and collected together all that were in the camp, and pulled down the walls, and burned the ships to the sound of the flute; the allies being crowned with garlands, and making merry together, as counting that day the beginning of their liberty. He proceeded also at once to alter the government, placing thirty rulers in the city, and ten in the Peiræus; he put also a garrison into the Acropolis, and made Callibius, a Spartan, the governor of it."

Mr. J. A. Symonds, in *The Academy* for April 17, 1875, devotes a long article to this poem. After giving an outline of the story, he says that this is the setting which "Mr. Browning has invented for one of the strongest poems he has ever written, for one of the most brilliant *tours de force* of English verse. A more ingenious or more felicitous framework could not be imagined; all the motives are well chosen, probable, dramatic; nor is it possible sufficiently to praise the adroitness with which the poet has seized on every scrap of history, on every tag of antiquarian gossip, which could serve his purpose. The poem literally bursts with erudition, containing, as it does, the stuff for many dissertations on the origin and object of Greek comedy, on the causes of Athenian decay, on the proper estimate of Euripides as a tragic poet, on Greek dancing girls, and last, not least, upon the Kottabos. Yet this learning is lightly borne; it scarcely can be said to overlay the presentation of the two chief personages, or to distract attention from the subject of their long debate. The aim of the poem being really the glorification of Euripides, the moment selected for Balaustion's improvisation, when Athens has just fallen,

only escaping utter ruin through a song from the *Elektra*, is sensationally appropriated. By identifying the man of Phokis, mentioned in Plutarch's life of Lysander, with his own Euthukles, Mr. Browning rings and rounds his whole romance within a sphere of plausibility. Euripides, abused by the comic poet as the destroyer of his country, is now shown to have stayed the conqueror's hand; while the flute-girls, feigned by Mr. Browning to be the veritable crew of Aristophanes, pipe their best and dance their worst all through the pulling down of the long walls.

"The use made of the advantages offered by these parallels and contrasts is superb. As a sophist and a rhetorician of poetry, Mr. Browning proves himself unrivaled, and takes rank with the best writers of historical romances. Yet students may fairly accuse him of some special pleading in favor of his friends, and against his foes. It is true that Aristophanes did not bring back again the golden days of Greece; true that his comedy revealed a corruption latent in Athenian life. But neither was Euripides in any sense a savior. Impartiality regards them both as equally destructive; Aristophanes, because he indulged animalism and praised ignorance in an age which ought to have outgrown both; Euripides, because he criticised the whole fabric of Greek thought and feeling in an age which had not yet distinguished between analysis and skepticism.

"What has just been said about Mr. Browning's special pleading indicates the chief fault to be found with his poem. The point of view is modern. The situation is strained. Aristophanes becomes the scape-goat of Athenian sins, while Euripides shines forth a saint as well as a sage. Balaustion, for her part, beautiful as her conception truly is, takes up a position which even Plato could not have assumed. Into her mouth Mr. Browning has put the views of the most searching and most sympathetic modern analyst. She judges Euripides, not as he appeared to his own Greeks, but as he strikes the warmest of admirers who compare his work with that of all the poets who have ever lived. No account is taken of his tiresome quibblings and long-winded repartees, his moral hair-splitting and sophistry, the shifting of his point of view about such characters as Helen. We, indeed, in the nineteenth century, can overlook these

blemishes, while we dwell on qualities which make him third among the sons of Attic song. But in the eyes of the Greeks they were far otherwise important. The ribaldry of Aristophanes, which seems to us disgusting, and on which Mr. Browning insists with a satire at once delicate and scathing, was not more corrosive of good breeding and high tone.

"Though it seems to me that Mr. Browning has credited Balaustion with views in advance of her civilization, he cannot be said to have violated dramatic propriety. It is just that Balaustion, saved by the rheseis of *Alkestis*, and Euthukles, savior of Athens through *Elektra* — the very priest and priestess of Euripides — should confront their comic adversary in this lofty strain. And, what is more, the poet of our age has obeyed a right instinct in making a woman, and such an inspired woman as Balaustion, his mouthpiece. Of women in Greece we know, indeed, next to nothing. But nature tells us that women, all the world over, have finer moral perceptions than men; and Balaustion, be it said in passing, is worthy to be placed besides Pompilia.

"The contrast between this high-spirited woman, worshiper of Euripides the sage, wife of Euthukles her own amanuensis, who darts forth withering epigrams at need; and Aristophanes, the blustering, wine-swollen, blatant monarch of the comic scene, who rolls into her room, is highly entertaining. Not less picturesque is the contrast between the quiet home of Balaustion, with its oratory raised beneath the portrait of the freckle-faced poet — cool, tranquil — and the flame-faced revels of the Bohemian supper party, with Aristophanes for Bacchus, and 'Phaps' for Aphrodite. The whole poem, it may be said, abounds in contrasts. They detonate at every turn, indeed, like crackers, rather to the detriment of true artistic calm.

"Mr. Browning has shown his mastery by painting both portraits, Balaustion and Aristophanes, with equal force. His Aristophanes is no vulgar caricature. Though the English poet hates him for his foulness, loathes him for his lies, and scorns his shabby tricks of trade and catchpenny calumnies, he does not fail to appreciate the demiurgic power, the creative energy, and the splendid imagination of the author of the *Clouds*. Aristophanes is drawn like a

primeval demon, a Titan — Typhoeus or Enceladus — at war with some new Zeus, whom he contemns, but who is born of Fate's decree to conquer. The flash and flame and force of genius, whereby this conception of Aristophanes is sustained, overpower all criticism. It is only after laying down the book and thinking over it, that we discover what is wanting — the aërial beauty which belonged to the true Aristophanes, the delicate drollery which Plato has portrayed in the *Symposium*. Mr. Browning's Aristophanes roars and ramps, and snorts and bullies, and dominates us with subtlety of intellect and strength of lung. But where in the hundreds of lines which he pours forth can we detect the teacher of the chorus of the *Clouds*, the singer of the *Birds* in their Parabasis? He is truly finest, and most artfully depicted, in the passage which describes his feelings when the news of Euripides' death reached him in the midst of his symposium. Mr. Browning soars to a dramatic climax in this masterpiece of powerful delineation.

"Meanwhile his Euripides is far withdrawn and shadowy, a philosophic phantom, dear to all initiated souls, the burgher of no earthly city, the believer in no earthly gods of Greece, but the beloved of God. He speaks, at great length, in his own *Herakles*, which Balaustion, with a woman's privilege, pours down the ears of half-drunk Aristophanes. But while his comic antagonist is so carefully displayed, like a cantharus upon the cork of an entomologist, the tragic poet, assumed to be a far superior being, is only reflected on the mirror of Balaustion's womanly mind. Here again we find dramatic propriety of the first water. Balaustion is speaking. She cannot but presuppose the supremacy of her adopted saint. . . .

"As is the case with all Mr. Browning's work, however, the subject-matter of *Aristophanes' Apology* serves as a schema for conveying something far more universal than appears upon the surface. That old quarrel between Tragedy and Comedy at Athens, which he has resuscitated, has long ago been settled. It was never so important, perhaps, as he would have us think; for what are poems or poets, after all, but signs and symbols of a nation's culture? The accurate scholarship and vivid local coloring which make this poem priceless to a student will repel the gen-

eral reader; and all of us may cry 'Connu!' when we read the prophecy of the new comic art which shall absorb the tragic. But no one is really unconcerned with the strife of the spirit and the flesh, idealized humanity and life materially apprehended, which underlies the shadow-duel between Balaustion and Aristophanes, as apprehended by Mr. Browning."

Page 99. *Koré.* The Greek for Virgin, a name given to Persephoné.

101. *Dikast.* Judge. — *Heliast.* A juryman in Athens. — *Kordax-step.* An indecent dance. "A species of dance which no Athenian could practice, sober and unmasked, without incurring a character for the greatest shamelessness." [Müller.] — *Propulaia* (Propylaia). Gateway of the Acropolis. — *Pnux* (Pnyx). The place where the popular assembly met. — *Bema.* The elevated place where the actors stood when they addressed the popular assembly. Both these were represented in the Athenian theatre.

102. *Hermippos.* A poet of the Old Comedy, who satirized Pericles and prosecuted Aspasia. — *Kratinos.* A poet of the Old Comedy, the rival of Aristophanes, who first made the drama a means of personal satire: 519–423 B. C. — *Makaria.* A heroine in Euripides' *Hecuba*, who dies for the salvation of her brothers and sisters.

103. *Phrunichos* (Phrynicus). A dramatic poet who made the capture of Miletus the subject of a tragedy, "which, when performed, in 493, so painfully wrung the feelings of the Athenian audience that they burst into tears in the theatre, and the poet was condemned to pay a fine of 1,000 drachmæ, for having recalled to them their misfortunes." [Grote.] He is satirized by Aristophanes in the *Frogs* for his method of introducing his characters. — *Milesian smart-place.* The painful remembrance of the capture of Milesia thus referred to. — *Kresphontes.* One of the conquerors of Peloponnesus, to whom Messenia fell as his share.

104. *Amphitheos.* One of the characters in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, a being not godlike and yet gifted with immortality.

105. *Stade.* The stake where the runner stopped, to return to his starting-point. — *Diaulos.* The race-course

with its double track, one for the out-go, and one for the return. — *Hupsipule* (Hypsipyle). The queen of Lemnos, on Jason's expedition in search of the golden fleece. — *Phoinissai* (Phœnissae). A tragedy of Euripides about the woes of the family of Œdipus. — *Zethos*. A son of Zeus and Antiope, at Thebes, and a brother of Amphion.

106. *Phorminx*. A kind of cithara or lyre, the oldest stringed instrument of the Greeks. — *City of Gapers*. A name given to Athens on account of the excessive curiosity of its people. — *Glauketes*. Imaginary person. — *Morsimos*. Imaginary person. — *Arginousai* (Arginusae). Three small islands near Æolis, and a hundred and twenty stadia from Mitylene, described by Strabo. — *Mime*. A performer in the mimic dialogues called Mimes.

107. *Lais* and *Leogoras*. Imaginary persons. — *Koppa-marked*. Race-horses marked with the old letter Koppa, which indicated the best breed. — *Choinix*. A measure. — *Thesmophoria*. A festival held by women in honor of Ceres and Proserpine, from which men were rigidly excluded, and which was made by Aristophanes the subject of one of his comedies. — *Arridaios*, *Krateues*. Minor poets. — *Comic Platon*. The last poet of the Old Comedy, a writer of satirical comedies. — *Nikodikos*. Imaginary person.

108. *Phuromachos*. Military leader.

109. *Salabaccho*. The name of a famous courtesan of the time of Aristophanes, a character in *The Knights*.

110. *Peiraios*. A character in the *Odyssey*, son of Clytius of Ithaca, and a friend of Telemachus. — *Alkamenes*, a king of Sparta, mentioned by Herodotus and Pausanias.

112. *Komos-cry*. In the Attic drama, the song sung alternately by the chorus and an actor, and especially the wail or dirge in which the chorus often indulged. "Komos signifies a revel continued after supper. It was a very ancient custom in Greece for young men, after rising from an evening banquet, to ramble about the streets to the sound of the flute or the lyre, and with torches in their hands; such a band of revelers was called a komos. And as the band of revelers not unfrequently made a riotous entrance into any house where an entertainment was going on, the verb is used metaphorically by Plato to signify any interruption or intrusion. Hence the word Komos is used to denote any

band or company. In a secondary sense, it signifies a song sung either by a convivial party or at the Bacchic feasts (not merely in honor of the god, but also to ridicule certain persons); or lastly, by a procession in honor of a victor at the public games." [Donaldson.]

114. *Cheekband.* A band worn by trumpeters to support the cheeks. — *Cuckoo-apple.* Make-believe food. — *Threttanelo.* A sound imitative of a harp-string. — *Neblaretai.* A sound imitative of any cry of joy. — *Goat's-breakfast.* Allusions of a very indecent nature, probably connected with the early history of the drama, and the worship of Bacchus.

115. *Curtail expense.* The cost of bringing out plays was defrayed by the city, and was dependent upon the money which could be spared for that purpose. — *Three days' salt-fish-slice.* The allowance for a soldier when setting out on an expedition, after which he was to forage for himself. — *Sham-ambassadors.* Characters in the *Acharnians.* — *Kudathenaian.* Famous Athenian. — *Pandionid.* A descendant of Pandion, King of Athens. — *Choirilos.* A tragic poet of Athens, contemporary with Sophocles. — *Goat-song.* Tragedy (tragœdia) was thus called because a goat-skin, filled with wine, was at first given as a prize on its production. Donaldson says *tragœdia* could have nothing to do with the goat, nor could it imply that the goat was the object of the song. It denotes the singer whose words are accompanied by the gesticulations or movements of a chorus of Satyrs, or a comus of revelers.

116. *Willow-wicker-flask.* A nickname for a poet who makes himself a toper.

117. *Lyric shell or tragic barbiton.* The lesser and the larger lyre.

118. *Sousarion.* A poet of Megara, who is said to have introduced comedy into Athens at a very early date. — *Chionides.* His successor in the development of comedy, and called by Donaldson the first writer of old Athenian comedy.

119. *Little-in-the-Fields.* A Dionysian feast, but not so important as that of the city.

120. *Ameipsias.* A comic poet, who was the rival of Aristophanes. — *Iostephanos.* A name of Athens, meaning violet-crowned.

121. *Kleophon.* A demagogue attacked by Aristophanes as a profligate, an enemy of peace, and a man of bad character. — *Kleonumos.* Another demagogue attacked by Aristophanes, a big and cowardly fellow. — *Melanthios.* A petty tragic poet, a descendant of Æschylus. — *Parabasis.* That part of the Old Tragedy, not connected with its main action, in which the chorus came forward and addressed the audience in the poet's name. — *Telekleides.* A poet of the Old Comedy of about 444 B. C. — *Murtilos, Hermippos, Eupolis, Kratinos.* Poets contemporary with the great writers of tragedy. — *Mullos, Euetes.* Revivers of comedy in Athens after Sousarion.

122. *Morucheides.* The son of Morychus, and like his father a glutton and a comic poet. — *Surakosios.* A comic poet.

123. *Trilophos.* A wearer of three crests on his helmets; this passage probably refers to the abandonment of the aristocratic party by Alcibiades. — *Ruppapai.* A word used by a crew in rowing, which came to mean the crew itself.

124. *Prutaneion* (Prytaneion). A free dinner was given in this place, at the expense of the city, to the leading persons of the city. — *Ariphrades.* An infamous character attacked by Aristophanes, a player on the harp.

125. *Karkinos.* A comic actor, who had famous dancing sons. — *Exomis.* A woman's garment. — *Parachoregema.* The subordinate chorus, when the principal one is absent from the stage. — *Aristullos.* A bad character, satirized by Aristophanes, and used by him as a travesty of Plato. The incident is mentioned in Plato's *Apology.* — *Mnesilochos.* The father of the first wife of Euripides, one of the characters in the *Thesmophoriazusae.* — *Bald Bard.* Aristophanes was bald at an early age. — *Murrhiné, Akalanthis.* Female names in Aristophanes' comedy called *Thesmophoriazusae.* — *The Toxotes.* A Syrian archer in the same comedy.

126. *New Kalligeneia.* The name given to Ceres, meaning, the bearer of lovely offspring. — *The Great King's Eye.* In the *Acharnians*, a mocking name given to the Persian ambassador. — *Kompolakuthes.* A player of the name of Lamachus, meaning a boaster who is also a bully. — *Silphion.* A plant used as a relish. — *Kleonclapper.* A

corrector of Kleon. — *Agathon.* An Athenian poet of much prominence of the time of Euripides. In the opening of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* he is brought into close connection with that poet, and he "is appealed to as an effeminate and luxurious man whose soft and sensuous poetry was the natural outcome of his nature."

127. *Babaiax.* An exclamation of surprise. — *Strattis.* A poet of the Old Comedy, 410–380 B. C. — *Told him in dream.* An allusion to the account given by Cicero in his *Divinatione*, xxv., as follows: "To the philosophers we may add the testimony of Sophocles, a most learned man, and as a poet quite divine, who, when a golden goblet of great weight had been stolen from the temple of Heracles, saw in a dream the god himself appearing to him, and declaring who was the robber. Sophocles paid no attention to this vision, though it was repeated more than once. When it had presented itself to him several times, he proceeded up to the Court of the Areopagus, and laid the matter before them. On this, the judges issued an order for the arrest of the offender nominated by Sophocles. On the application of the torture, the criminal confessed his guilt, and restored the goblet; from which event this temple of Heracles was afterwards called, The Temple of Heracles, the Indicator.' " — *Euphorion.* One of the two sons of Æschylus who were tragic poets, and who brought out four of his father's unpublished plays, defeating Euripides with one of them. — *Trugaios.* An epithet of Bacchus, meaning vintager; but here refers to a character in the *Peace* of Aristophanes. — *Simonides.* "The lyric poet sang an ode to his patron Scopas, at a feast; and as he had introduced into it the praises of Castor and Pollux, Scopas declared that he would only pay his own half-share of the ode, and the Demigods might pay the remainder. Presently it was announced to Simonides that two youths desired to see him outside the palace; on going there he found nobody, but meanwhile the palace fell in, killing his patron. Thus was he *paid.*" [Mrs. Orr.]

128. *Philonides.* A comic poet, but principally known as having brought out several of the plays of Aristophanes. — *Kallistratos.* Another poet who put on the stage several of the plays of Aristophanes. — *Iophon.* A son of Sophocles,

said to have been a bad poet, yet gained victories. He tried to take away his father's property by claiming he was not able to manage it, but Sophocles read the chorus of his *Œdipus at Colonus* to the judges, who decided upon his perfect sanity.

129. *Maketis.* The capital of Macedonia.

131. *Lamachos.* A general who fell at the siege of Syracuse; satirized by Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* as a brave but boastful man. — *Philokleon.* A dikast or judge who was made a character in *The Wasps.* — *Pisthetairos.* A character in *The Birds* of Aristophanes, an Athenian citizen who goes to seek his fortune in the kingdom of birds. — *Strepsiades.* A rich old Athenian in *The Clouds.* — *Ariphrades.* Imaginary person.

132. *Nikias.* An Athenian general in the Peloponnesian war, the leader of the aristocratic party.

135. *Sophroniskos' son.* Socrates.

139. *Kephisophon.* An actor, and a friend of Euripides, who was enviously reported to help him in writing his play. — *Wine-lees-song.* So called because the comic actors rubbed their faces with wine-lees in place of masks; hence a comedian was a *tragudos* or wine-lees-singer.

141. *Palaistra.* A wrestling-school or place of exercise.

142. *Kleon.* A leader of the Athenian democracy during the Peloponnesian war. — *Whirligig,* or vortex. A satirical substitute for the gods in Aristophanes' *Clouds,* where he condemns the theories of the philosophers. — *Chairephon.* One of the friends of Socrates, and as such introduced by Plato into his dialogues. He appears as such in *The Clouds.* He was a man of great warmth of temper, so much so as to be almost insane.

143. *Aias.* Ajax. — *San.* The letter used to distinguish race-horses. — *Menippos.* A comic poet. — *Kepphé.* Imaginary person. — *Sporgilos.* Imaginary person. — *Thearion's meal-tub politics.* The politics of Thearion, the baker.

144. *Rocky Ones.* An epithet applied to the Athenians.

145. *Promachos.* Champion. — *Kimon.* An Athenian general in the Persian war. — *Boulé.* The state council.

146. *Prodikos.* A Greek sophist of the age of Socrates, satirized in the *Birds* and *Clouds.* — *Protagoras.* The ear-

liest and greatest of the Sophists, after whom Plato named one of his dialogues. — *Choes.* A festival at Athens, called The Pitchers.

147. *Plataian help.* Help that is timely, a phrase that derived its meaning from the fact that the Platæans sent a thousand men to help at Marathon and thus decided the battle.

150. *Plethron square.* One hundred square feet.

151. *Archelaos.* The king of Macedonia, who became the patron of Euripides.

152. *Cloudcuckooburg.* A place in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, satirizing fanciful political theories, a castle in the air. — *Palaistra-tool.* The strigil used at the Palaistra or wrestling-school.

153. *Priapos.* Son of Dionysus and Aphrodite, a god of fertility and sensuality. — *Phales Iacchos.* Two epithets for Bacchus, the first one indecent.

160. *Kinesias.* A dithyrambic poet, who tried in the time of Aristophanes to cut down the money spent upon comedy and thus to decrease its dignity and importance. Aristophanes laughed at him for his leanness and his incapacity as a poet, in his *Birds.*

161. *Aristonumos.* A small poet opposed to Aristophanes. *Sannurion.* — A comic poet satirized by Aristophanes for his leanness. — *Rattei.* An imitative sound or gibberish expressive of joy.

164. *Kassiterides.* The tin-county of Cornwall in Britain.

169. *Skiadeion.* A parasol or sunshade. — *Huperbolos.* An Athenian demagogue, contemporary with Cleon.

170. *Theoria.* A character in the *Lysistrata*, personifying games, spectacles and sights. — *Opora.* A character in the *Lysistrata*, personifying plenty or a fruitful autumn.

172. *Philokleon turns Bdelukleon.* A lover of Cleon turns a reviler of Cleon, two characters in *The Wasps.* "There are two persons opposed to one another in this piece; the old Philocleon, who has given up the management of his affairs to his son, and devoted himself entirely to his office of judge (in consequence of which he pays the profoundest respect to Cleon, the patron of the popular courts); and his son Bdelycleon, who has a horror of Cleon and of the severity of the courts in general." [Müller.] The same

characters appear in the *Clouds*, but here their position with reference to Cleon is exactly reversed. — *Morsimos.* A descendant of Æschylus, an obscure tragic poet, ridiculed by the comic poets. — *Kratinos* (Cratinus). The originator of political comedy, an audacious satirist, one whose choruses were sung as popular songs.

173. *Logeion.* The front of the stage occupied by the actors.

174. *Kukloboros-roaring.* A roaring like that of the torrent of Cycloboros in Attica.

176. *Konnos.* The play by Ameipsias which beat the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. — *Eukrates, Lusikles, Telekleides and Hermippos.* Comic poets who satirized Pericles and Cymon. — *Moruchides.* An Athenian archon, who made a law permitting the comic poets to make personal attacks. — *Euthumenes.* An Athenian ruler who refused the pay of the comic poets, but who tripled that of those who attended the assembly. — *Surakosios.* An archon who made a law limiting the freedom of lampooning. — *Argurrhios.* An Athenian ruler connected with the use made by the comic poets of satire and the lampoon.

178. *Triballos.* A country or clownish god.

179. *Pentheus.* The successor of Cadmus as king of Thebes, who was destroyed by his own mother because of his opposition to the Dionysius-worship.

193. *Propula* (propyla). A name derived from *propulaia* (propylæa), the gateway to the Acropolis.

226. *Kottabos* (cottabus). "A game of skill for a long time in great vogue in Greece, frequently alluded to by the classic writers, and not seldom depicted on the ancient vases. The object of the player was to cast a portion of wine left in his drinking-cup, in such a way that without breaking bulk in its passage through the air, it should reach a vessel set to receive it, and there produce a distinct noise by its impact. The thrower, in the ordinary form of the game, was expected to retain the recumbent position that was usual at table, and in playing the cottabus, to make use of the right hand only." See Becker's *Charicles* for account of other forms of the game.

227. *Tin-islands.* Great Britain, or perhaps more correctly, the Scilly Islands. — *Thamuris* (Thamyris). A

musician or poet preceding Homer, native of Thrace, who claimed to despise the Muses, and was punished with blindness for his presumption.

228. *Balura.* A small stream of Messenia, flowing into the Pamisus.

235. *Elaphebolion-month.* The month for stag-hunting or stag-striking; the month when the comedies were presented. — *Bakis-prophecy.* Foolish prophecies attributed to one Bacis, then common; hence, a general name for all foolish attempts to forecast the future.

239. *Kommos.* A name for general weeping by the chorus or by an actor. — *Phaps-Elaphion.* The leader of the chorus of females or flute-players.

240. *Philemon.* A poet of the New Comedy, who wrote many plays, only fragments of which have been preserved. He is mentioned because he is the first of the new school, the greatest of whom was Menander.

See *London Quarterly Review*, 44 : 354; *Athenæum*, April 17, 1875; *Browning Society's Papers*, J. B. Bury, number eight, 2 : 79 and 2 : 117*.

Artemis Prologizes. First published in 1842, in *Dramatic Lyrics*, the third part of *Bells and Pomegranates. Poems*, 1849, under the heading *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics.* In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was given a place in *Men and Women.*

This poem was the result of the reading of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. In that play Hippolytus is represented as a chaste worshiper of Artemis (Latin, Diana) who will give no heed to Venus. He is loved by Phaedra, his step-mother, who, when he will not reciprocate her advances, kills herself, but leaves a letter to Theseus, her husband, accusing Hippolytus of an improper affection for herself. Theseus sends his son into exile; but the unfortunate young man's horses are frightened by a bull sent by Poseidon; they run with furious speed, and he is dragged behind his chariot until he is mortally wounded. Theseus rejoices at this punishment until Artemis appears and shows him his error. Then Hippolytus is conveyed into the presence of his father; the old love returns between them, and Hippolytus expires in his father's arms.

At this point Browning takes up the story, and follows

the legend which says that Hippolytus was revived by Artemis, but falls in love with Aricia, one of her nymphs. He planned a long poem on this legend, but only the present fragment was written; something diverting his mind from the subject of the poem, it was not again taken up. In this fragment the speaker is Artemis; and she relates how Hippolytus came to his death, as the story is told in the play of Euripides. She tells — what is not told in the play — how she had conveyed him in secret to her forest retreat, where she is at work, with the aid of Æsculapius, in bringing him back to life. Hippolytus is not yet restored, but he has the appearance of being only in sleep. The fragment closes at the moment when Artemis declares her purpose of awaiting in silence the result of her efforts to revive her favorite.

It was in this poem that Browning first adopted that form of spelling Greek words which he followed to the end of his life. In the preface to the translation of the *Agamemnon*, 1877, he set forth his theory on that subject, and defended it with zeal and knowledge. He had occasion now and then in other places to say a word on the subject. "He even assured his friends," says Mrs. Orr, "that if the innovation had been rationally opposed, or simply not accepted, he would probably himself have abandoned it. But when, years later, in *Balaustion's Adventure*, the new spelling became the subject of attacks which all but ignored the existence of the work from any other point of view, the thought of yielding was no longer admissible."

Mrs. Orr prints in her *Hand-book* a note from Browning with reference to these attacks. It is in reply to an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, for January, 1886, written by Mr. Frederick Harrison. "I have just noticed," wrote Browning, "in this month's *Nineteenth Century* that it is inquired by a humorous objector to the practice of spelling (under exceptional conditions) Greek proper names as they are spelled in Greek literature, why the same principle should not be adopted by Ægyptologists, Hebraists, Sanscrittists, Accadians, Moabites, Hittites, and Cuneiformists? Adopt it by all means whenever the particular language enjoyed by any fortunate possessor of these shall, like Greek, have been for about three hundred years insisted upon in England, as an acquisition of paramount importance at

school and college, for every aspirant to distinction in learning, even at the cost of six or seven years' study — a sacrifice considered well worth making for even an imperfect acquaintance with the most perfect language in the world. Further, it will be adopted whenever the letters substituted for those in ordinary English use shall do no more than represent to the unscholarly what the scholar accepts without scruple, when, for the hundredth time, he reads the word which, for once, he has occasion to write in English, and which he concludes must be as euphonic as the rest of a language renowned for euphony. And finally, the practice will be adopted whenever the substituted letters effect no sort of organic change, so as to jostle the word from its pride of place in English verse or prose. 'Themistokles' fits in quietly everywhere, with or without the 'k;' but in a certain poetical translation I remember by a young friend, of the *Anabasis*, beginning thus felicitously, '*Cyrus the Great and Artaxerxes* (*Whose temper bloodier than a Turk's is*) *Were children both of the mild, pious, And happy monarch King Darius;* who fails to see that, although a correct 'Kuraush' may pass, yet 'Darayavash' disturbs the metre as well as the rhyme? It seems, however, that 'Themistokles' may be winked at; not so the 'harsh and subversive "Kirke."' But let the objector ask somebody with no knowledge to subvert, how he supposes 'Circe' is spelled in Greek, and the answer will be, 'With a soft *c*.' Inform him that no such letter exists, and he guesses, 'Then with *s*, if there be anything like it.' Tell him that to eye and ear equally, his own *k* answers the purpose, and you have at all events taught him that much, if little enough — and why does he live unless to learn a little!" This note is signed "R. B." Its date is January 4, 1886.

See the study of Hippolytus in the first series of Symonds' *Greek Poets:* see also William Cranston Lawton's *Three Dramas of Euripides.*

Ask not one least word of praise! The first line of the eleventh lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies.*

Asolando: Fancies and Facts. Published by Smith, Elder & Co., London, December, 1889. Pages i.–viii., 1–157.

Contents: Prologue; Rosny; Dubiety; Now; Humility;

Poetics; Summum Bonum; A Pearl, a Girl; Speculative; White Witchcraft; Bad Dreams: I., II., III., and IV.; Inapprehensiveness; Which? The Cardinal and the Dog; The Pope and the Net; The Bean-Feast; Muckle-Mouth Meg; Arcades Ambo; The Lady and the Painter; Ponte dell' Angelo, Venice; Beatrice Signorini; Flute-Music, with an Accompaniment; "Imperante Augusto Natus Est — "; Development; Rephan; Reverie; Epilogue.

Browning first visited Asolo when a young man; he made it the scene of *Pippa Passes*, and he referred to it in *Sordello*. He was there again in the early autumn of 1889, as the guest for several weeks at the summer home of Mrs. Arthur Bronson; there he completed the preparation of *Asolando*, and there he wrote its dedication to this intimate friend. Then he went to Venice, and there his life came to an end, just after this volume had been issued from the press.

Asolo is a small town in Venetia. It is located in the province of Treviso, and is about nineteen miles from the city of that name. It is the ancient *Acelum*, known to Ptolemy and Pliny. It was destroyed by the Huns, and came into the hands of the Venetians in 1337. It is finely located, and now has a population of about six thousand. Located on high ground, it is surrounded by fortifications; and near by is an old castle. It has a cathedral and a public fountain; it also contains the ruins of public baths and a Roman Aqueduct. Not far off is the quarry of Rocca. The town is now famous mainly for its silk culture and manufacture.

In the immediate neighborhood of Asolo is the palace once occupied by Caterina Cornaro, and now used as a dairy. Caterina was born in Venice in 1454, the daughter of Marco Cornaro, a wealthy and noble citizen. In 1471 she married James Lusignan, king of Cyprus. The next year the king died, and for seven years Caterina was queen of Cyprus, though with little authority or influence. Venice had her hand on the queen's country, and made it her own, compelling Caterina to resign. She was given Castle Asolo, by Venice, and there she continued to rule as a queen until her death, in 1510.

Among those who formed the court of Caterina was

Pietro Bembo, one of the great Italian scholars of the period, a humanist, a restorer of pure and graceful Latin, and a man of broad and generous tastes. When a young man he was Caterina's secretary, and helped to entertain her court. He wrote a description of its idyllic life, as he saw it, in his *Degli Asolani;* and described the music, the acted dialogue, and the graceful outdoor wanderings in grove and garden, with which these people amused themselves.

The title of the book Browning attributes to Bembo's use of the word *asolare* — "to disport in the open air, amuse one's self at random"; an expression which admirably describes the life at the court of Caterina Cornaro. It is a far-drawn double play upon words which led to the use of such a title; but it answers its purpose as well as any other, and connects the last of Browning's books with a place that had pleasant associations for him.

An account of Asolo, and of Caterina's life there, is given in Mr. Horatio F. Brown's *Venetian Studies*. "The castle of Asolo stood on the spurs of the Alps, between Bassano and Montebelluno, at no great distance from the Villa Masèr. Far away it looked across the plain to Padua and the Euganean Hills, those islanded mounds that rise abruptly from the rich growth of vineyards and of mulberry trees. On the other side of the hills lived another famous woman, beautiful with golden hair — Lucrezia Borgia, duchess of Ferrara. The morning sun and clear light morning air come fresh to Asolo from the sea that lies round Venice; while behind it the Julian Alps swell upward, wave on wave, towards the boundary heights. It was here that Caterina was to taste the sweet idyllic close to all her stormy life, surrounded by her little court, her twelve maids of honor, and her eighty serving-men, her favorite negress with the parrots, her apes and peacocks and hounds, and dwarf buffoon. Here the still days went by in garden walks, or by the little brooks, or in the oak grove, where the company would talk of love as though it had no life, like some dead god that could not reach their hearts; or else would sing the sun to his setting, with touch of lute strings and sweetly modulated voices.

"Caterina left Venice for Asolo, and all the people of her little principality, olive crowned and bearing oli e

branches in their hands, came out to meet their lady. Under a canopy of cloth of gold they led her to the piazza of Borgo d' Asolo, where an address was presented to her. . . . Caterina began to give laws to her little kingdom, and to take a queenly interest in its cares and its well-being. She opened a *monte di pietà*, or pawnbroking bank, for the relief of those in pressing need. She imported grain from Cyprus and distributed it. She appointed her treasurer of state, her *potestas regius*, and an auditor to hear and judge appeals. She wielded her little scepter for her people's good, and won their love by gentleness and grace. Here, in the quiet of twenty years, she lived, surrounded by a phantom royalty; yet, unsubstantial as it might be, it was as real as any she had known in Cyprus. Here she and her court listened one and all to those grave *ragionamenti* on platonic love, with their weariful, never-ending age of gold, with their gods and goddesses and mortals made immortal. . . .

"The queen really loved Asolo, her gardens, and her court, nor ever wished to leave them, summer or winter. Three times only did she make a journey from her castle: once when the weather was so cold that men could walk from Mestre to Venice across the lagoon; once she paid a visit to her brother Giorgio, *podestà* in Brescia; and again when Asolo was occupied by the troops of Maximilian. Caterina went to Venice for greater safety, and died there on the tenth of July, 1510, fifty-six years old. Her funeral displayed as much magnificence as Venice could afford. Over her grave Andrea Navagero, poet, scholar and ambassador, made the oration that bade farewell to this unhappy queen, whose beauty, goodness, gentleness, and grace, were unavailing to save her from the tyrannous cruelty of fate."

See *Poet-Lore*, 2: 94; *Academy*, Arthur Symons, January 11, 1890; *Athenæum*, January 18, 1890; *Spectator*, January 25, 1890; *Andover Review*, February, 1890.

At the "Mermaid." *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems.* 1876.

In this poem the speaker is Shakespeare, to whom it has just been suggested that he is to be the next great poet. He is speaking to his literary friends, especially to Ben Jonson, gathered at "The Mermaid" tavern, the favorite

resort in London of the Elizabethan wits. He refuses to accept the praise given him, says he has no new method as a poet; and he asks his friends to show him the tokens that he is the dead king's heir and son. He is not at all inclined to produce a sedition in the methods of song or to inaugurate a schism in the art of verse-making.

The main purpose of this poem is to protest, in the name of the greatest dramatic poet, against the habit of attributing to the dramatist as his own personal beliefs, those sentiments and opinions which he puts into the mouths of his characters. He will not accept the tendency to identify his characters with himself as being either just or right; his life is his own, hid from the world; and it is not his own life which he puts into his dramatic works. The poem is an emphatic protest against that tendency in criticism which finds in the plays of Shakespeare a full-grown system of philosophy, and it is a denial that the dramatist could have had any such aim. It is also a protest against the tendency in poetry to represent the dark and evil side of life, a tendency best shown in Byron. Browning also alludes to Shakespeare in the poem called *House*, and in *Sludge the Medium*.

Austin Tresham. The lover of Guendolen Tresham in *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, and the next heir to the earldom of Tresham.

Bad Dreams. *Asolando*, 1889.

Balaustion. The Greek girl of Rhodes who, in *Balaustion's Adventure*, at Syracuse saves the ship-load of her companions journeying to Athens, by her recital of Euripides' *Alcestis*. Her adventures are continued in *Aristophanes' Apology*, wherein she marries her lover, defends Euripides against the great writer of comedies, and sails back again to Rhodes.

Balaustion's Adventure: Including a Transcript from Euripides. Published in August, 1871, by Smith, Elder and Co., London. The poem was written and the translation made at the suggestion of Lady Cowper, to whom it is dedicated. The motto is from Mrs. Browning's *Wine of Cyprus*. Pages 1–170.

This poem is something more than a translation of the *Alcestis* of Euripides. It is a defense of that dramatic

poet as the most human of all the Greek dramatists, and the most modern in spirit. Euripides has been criticised by numerous writers for his defective plots, and for the crudeness of his dramatic methods as compared with Æschylus; but in his dramas there is more of pathos and tenderness, and a larger appreciation of the facts of human life. This is admirably expressed in the motto taken from Mrs. Browning, as well as in many of the effects produced by Balaustion's recitation of the *Alcestis*. Professor Mahaffy says Browning is "the modern poet who best understands Euripides."

The plays of Euripides were more favorably received outside Athens than in it; and on this fact Browning has based his account of the adventure of Balaustion, which took place in the year 413 B. C., during the second stage of the Peloponnesian war, that great struggle between Athens and Sparta for the leadership of Greece. It occurred at the time when Athens had sent out an expedition against Syracuse that had utterly failed. Then the people of Rhodes proposed to withdraw their allegiance from Athens and join Sparta. Balaustion, a native of the city of Camirus in Rhodes, had been so nurtured on Athenian traditions and ideas that she was not willing to submit to Sparta. She persuaded her family to flee with her to Athens. They crossed over to Caunus, on the mainland, where they hired a ship to carry them to Athens. They were driven out of their way by contrary winds, and likely to be captured by a piratical ship, when they sought a harbor, which proved to be that of Syracuse. The people there would not receive the fugitives, because they heard a song coming from the ship, which declared the glory of Athens. When it was found, however, that Balaustion could recite a play by the new dramatic poet, Euripides, they were admitted to the city and most kindly received. Balaustion recited *Alcestis*, which is presented in a narrative form and, of course, is not literally translated throughout. This is one of the most pathetic of the plays of Euripides, and it justifies the description of the poet by Mrs. Browning as "the human with the droppings of warm tears."

The Greeks in every country took great interest in the works of the dramatic poets, and were eager to see their

plays on the stage or to hear them recited. The ability to recite their plays or portions of them was sometimes the occasion of the liberation of captives and their kindly treatment. The adventure of Balaustion is based on a passage in Plutarch's *Lives*, contained in his biography of Nicias, the leader of the expedition against Syracuse. Many of the Athenians and their allies were taken prisoners and suffered great barbarities, while many who were discreet and orderly were set free.

"Several were saved for the sake of Euripides," says Plutarch, in Clough's translation, "whose poetry, it appears, was in request among the Sicilians more than among any of the settlers out of Greece. And when any travelers arrived that could tell them some passage, or give them any specimen of his verses, they were delighted to be able to communicate them to one another. Many of the captives who got safe back to Athens are said, after they reached home, to have gone and made their acknowledgments to Euripides, relating how that some of them had been released from their slavery by teaching what they could remember of his poems, and others, when straggling after the fight, had been relieved with meat and drink, for repeating some of his lyrics. Nor need this be any wonder, for it is told that a ship of Caunus fleeing into one of their harbors for protection, pursued by pirates, was not received, but forced back, till one asked if they knew any of Euripides' verses, and on their saying they did, they were admitted, and their ship brought into harbor."

This incident from Plutarch is used as introductory to the translation of *Alcestis*. Balaustion relates to four of her girl-friends the story of her adventure at Syracuse; how she had saved her companions there, how she had been followed to Athens by a young man she is now about to marry, and how she recited the new play of Euripides on the steps of the temple of Heracles in Syracuse. She adds to the words of Euripides such words of her own as help to make the drama more clear and vivid in its monologue form. Having repeated the play as she gave it at Syracuse, she concludes her narrative by a legendary addition to the story, relating how Alcestis and Admetus had lived happily together ever after. She also tells how it had all been painted

by a great painter, and how a great poetess had given the dramatist his true designation as a man and as a poet. The poetess referred to is Mrs. Browning, and the artist is Sir Frederick Leighton.

The best account of Euripides, his life and his works, is to be found in Professor J. P. Mahaffy's little book contained in the series of *Classical Writers*, edited by J. R. Green. A similar, but less valuable, work is that by W. B. Donne, in the series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers*. Admirable critical studies are to be found in Mahaffy's *Greek Literature* and J. A. Symonds' *Studies of the Greek Poets*, first series. There are translations of all of the plays of Euripides by Potter, Banks and Woodhull. Potter has a few notes that will be found helpful. The story of Alcestis is told by Mr. Morris in his *Earthly Paradise*. Professor Mahaffy has this to say of Browning's translation: "By far the best translation is Mr. Browning's, in his *Balaustion's Adventure*, but it is much to be regretted that he did not render the choral odes into lyric verse. No one has more thoroughly appreciated the main features of Admetus and Pheres, and their dramatic propriety." See Symons' *Introduction* for a discussion of the merits of the translation.

See *Contemporary Review*, 18 : 284; *Nation*, 13 : 178; *St. Paul's Magazine*, 13 : 178; *Penn Monthly*, 6 : 928; *Edinburgh Review*, 135 : 221; *Fortnightly Review*, Sydney Colvin, 16 : 478; *London Quarterly*, 37 : 346; *Poet-Lore*, 2 : 345; *Academy*, G. A. Simcox, Sept. 1, 1871.

Bean-Feast, The. *Asolando*, 1889.

Felix Peretti, who became Pope Sixtus V., was born near Montalto in 1521, of very poor parents. His father was a vine-dresser; but the son was hired to a neighbor to keep sheep, and then was put in charge of a drove of hogs. He accidentally became acquainted with a monk, who was so pleased with him that he secured him a place in the Franciscan monastery, where he was educated. He rapidly advanced, became a priest, then a popular preacher in Rome, and a cardinal in 1570. In 1585, he was unanimously elected pope, and began at once a thorough work of reform. He was one of the purest and most faithful of all the popes, and one of the truest to the ideal conception of that office.

He rigidly suppressed crime, destroyed the banditti, extensively improved the city of Rome, built a great aqueduct for supplying the city with water, founded the Vatican library, added the dome to St. Peter's, and made his office everywhere respected.

He employed spies to search out crime, and he himself sought in all possible ways to suppress evil-doing. It was said that he went about the city in disguise, in order to see how people lived; but this is merely legend or rumor. In Ellis Farnsworth's *Life of Pope Sixtus the Fifth*, London, 1754, is given an account of an actual historic occurrence.

"Another time, as he passed through the city, seeing the gates of that Convent open, he suddenly got out of his chariot, and went into the porter's lodge, where he found the porter, who was a lay brother, eating a platter of beans, with oil poured over them. As the meanness of the repast put him in mind of his former condition, he took a wooden spoon, and sitting down close to the porter, on a stair-case, first eat one platter full with him, and then another, to the great surprise of those that were with him. After that he had thanked the lay brother for his entertainment, he turned to his attendants, and said, 'We shall live two years longer for this; for we have eat with an appetite, and without fear or suspicion.' And then lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, 'The Lord be praised for permitting a Pope, once in his life, to make a meal in peace and quietness.'"

It is quite possible Browning may have found in some of the Italian gossipy lives of Sixtus, the very anecdote he puts into verse, but such anecdote must be taken only for what it is worth. The poem gives a true idea of the character of the Pope, his deep religious convictions, his humility, and his capacity for mingling on friendly terms with the meanest of his subjects.

Bean-Stripe, A: Also Apple-Eating. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

The Indian Sage. Sakya Muni or Buddha, who in his conception of the world was a pessimist. — *Ahriman.* The Persian Devil or personification of evil. — *Ormuzd.* The Persian Deity or good God, who is opposed by Ahriman. — *Shalim-Shah.* The Persian for "King of kings." —

Rustem, Gew, and Gudarz. Heroes in the *Shah-Nameh.* Rustem is a noble character, brave, faithful and generous. There is something very human about him, and he seems quite as real as any of the heroes in the *Iliad.* — *Sindokht.* The wife of Mihrab, another of the legendary characters in the *Shah-Nameh.* She was the mother of Rudabeh, whose love for Zal forms one of the most romantic episodes in this epic. Sindokht was politic and skillful as a match-maker, and brought the two young people together as she desired. — *Sulayman.* Another personage of the *Shah-Nameh.* — *Kawah.* In the same poem, the blacksmith who raises the standard of revolt, consisting of his own apron, against the tyrannies of Zohak. Kawah, who was remarkably strong and brave, was aided by Feridun; and these two were able to overcome the evil king. — *Seven Thrones.* Ursa Major. — *Zurah.* The Persian Venus. — *Parwin.* The Persian name of the Pleiades. — *Zerdusht.* Zoroaster, the founder of the national religion of Persia.

Beatrice Signorini. *Asolando*, 1889.

Giovanni Francesco Romanelli was born at Viterbo in 1617, and studied under Domenichino, Pietro da Cortona, and Bernini. He went to Rome, and was patronized by Cardinal Barberini. Baldinucci gives his biography at considerable length, and enumerates his various works. That part of the sketch relating to the poem is as follows: "He wished to return to Viterbo; and as he was of a gay and lively temperament, likewise very susceptible and of an amorous disposition, fond of all pleasures, such as dancing, games, and the society of the opposite sex, it came to pass that he fell in love with a noble lady, Beatrice Signorini by name. Cardinal Barberini favored the match, and blessed the bans. . . . Romanelli's merits soon reached the ears of the King of France. He reluctantly quitted his wife and family, to whom he was devotedly attached. . . . The Cardinal interceded with the king to allow Romanelli to return to Rome, as his absence had caused his wife much uneasiness. . . . Romanelli was at work in Rome when he received news that Louis XIV., who was now reigning, had chosen him to help add lustre to the magnificence of his reign. So he again set out for Paris, this time taking his family with him, and was warmly received by the king."

When about to make a third journey to France, in 1662, Romanelli died. He was not a great painter, as Browning correctly indicates; and few of his pictures are now remembered as having any special value. More to the purpose is Baldinucci's statement that he was witty in speech and graceful in manner, and of a noble and lofty bearing. "His personal influence was such that every one with whom he came in contact was charmed and fascinated by him. During his sittings he always conversed with his subjects and thus kept them amused and interested by his brilliant conversation and his lively descriptions. No obscene picture ever issued from his brush, which was ever inimical to a public display of the nude."

Baldinucci's sketch of Artemisia Genteleschi gives the other particulars referred to in the poem. The family name of this woman-artist was Lomi, but her father, also an artist, was usually called Genteleschi, from the surname of an uncle. "Artemisia Genteleschi was the daughter of Orazio Lomi, a Pisan painter. Artemisia had the reputation of being the most beautiful woman and the most skillful female painter of her time. She married Pier Antonio Schiattesi. She learned her art from her father, and began by painting portraits, in Rome, Florence, and other cities. She painted a beautiful picture of a nude woman entitled *Desire* for Michelangelo, the younger, in commemoration of the glorious achievements of his ancestor, the great Buonarruoti; but Lionardo, his nephew and heir, a gentleman of great modesty and decorum, known for his refinement, piety, and all other good qualities, wished this figure draped, and Baldassare Volterrano complied, without in any way lessening the beauty of the picture."

In the house of Gio. Luigi Arrighetti, a noble Florentine, according to Baldinucci, is a fine picture of *Aurora*, also nude. In the Pitti palace are two pictures from the hand of Artemisia. One is quite large, and represents *The Rape of Proserpine*. Another very fine picture in this same palace is a life-size *Judith and Holofernes*.

"Besides portrait painting, Artemisia had great talent for reproducing every kind of fruit [which Browning turns into flowers], imitating nature in a marvelous fashion. And at this point we must mention a little incident which took place

in the life of Giovanni Francesco Romanelli of Viterbo, pupil of Cortona. He lived and painted during the time of Urban VIII., and was held in great favor by the Barberini. This painter was of a gay and amorous disposition. He became deeply attached to the painter Artemisia, and often visited her in order to watch her working at her art, and to converse with her about art and the topics of the day. Romanelli wished to paint her portrait. As she was at the height of her art in fruit painting at that time, he desired her to paint a picture filled with fruit, and to leave in the centre space enough for the portrait. Artemisia complied with this request, and made a charming picture, embellished by fruits. Romanelli placed in the centre a most life-like and lovely portrait of Artemisia. This picture he kept himself, and he placed more value on it than on all the presents he had received from prelates and princes while in Rome. It was accordingly hung in his own house among his other pictures. One day he called his wife's attention to it, pointed out the portrait of Artemisia, and remarked upon the beauty and the ingenuity displayed in the conception of the picture. He purposely praised all the virtues of Artemisia, her charming manner, her vivacity of speech, and her lively repartee. This he did in order to excite the jealousy of his wife, who was also a very beautiful woman. The latter took occasion, when her husband was out of the house, to pierce and entirely destroy the face of Artemisia with a large pin (spillo), so that it could not be recognized. Romanelli, instead of showing anger at this proceeding, was more in love with his wife than ever, and from that time ceased to praise or make mention of the picture, which still is in possession of some of Romanelli's heirs."

In her youth Artemisia Genteleschi visited England with her father; she was liberally patronized by Charles I., and she painted the portraits of some of the royal family. She is mentioned in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. She seems to have made well by her art in England, and on the death there of her father to have returned to Italy. She lived in Naples, and died there in 1642, at the age of fifty-two. Lanzi says her pictures show variety of style, that her *Judith slaying Holofernes* is a picture of a strong coloring and of a tone and perspicuity that inspire

awe. He says she was more celebrated for her portraits, which are of singular merit; they spread her fame over all Europe. She was respected for her talents, and celebrated for the elegance of her manners and appearance. Artemisia was assisted and improved in her art by Guido Reni, and she diligently studied the works of Domenichino.

Beer. See *Nationality in Drinks.*

Before. *Men and Women*, 1855; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

A sequel to this poem is to be found in *After*, which poem see. *The leopard-dog-thing at his side* is thus explained by Mr. Nettleship in his *Essays and Thoughts:* "Let him lap himself in pleasure, take the flowers and the fruits of this life; for all that, his sin will ever accompany him like a leopard at his side, ready to spring and throttle him at any moment." An interpretation of these two poems is given by Mr. Nettleship.

Bells and Pomegranates. This is the title given to a cheap issue of Browning's poem begun in 1841. It was probably taken from a description of the priests' robe in Exodus xxviii. 34, where it was required that the robe should have on the hem of it "a golden bell and a pomegranate."

According to Mr. Edmund Gosse, in his paper on *The Early Writings of Robert Browning* published in *The Century*, December, 1881, reprinted in *Personalia*, 1890, the earlier works of the poet had but a small sale. "One day," says Mr. Gosse, "as the poet was discussing the matter with Mr. Edward Moxon, the publisher, the latter remarked that at that time he was bringing out some editions of the old Elizabethan dramatists, in a comparatively cheap form, and that if Mr. Browning would consent to print his poems as pamphlets, using this cheap type, the expense would be very inconsiderable. The poet jumped at the idea, and it was agreed that each poem should form a separate brochure of just one sheet, — sixteen pages, in double columns, — the entire cost of which should not exceed twelve or fifteen pounds. In this fashion began the celebrated series of *Bells and Pomegranates*, eight numbers of which, a perfect treasury of fine poetry, came out successively between 1841 and 1846. *Pippa Passes* led the way, and was priced first

at sixpence; then, the sale being inconsiderable, at a shilling, which greatly encouraged the sale; and so, slowly, up to half a crown, at which the price of each number finally rested."

The poems issued in this series were as follows: I. *Pippa Passes*, 1841. II. *King Victor and King Charles*, 1842. III. *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1842. IV. *The Return of the Druses*, 1843. V. *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, 1843. VI. *Colombe's Birthday*, 1844. VII. *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, 1845. VIII. *Luria; and A Soul's Tragedy*, 1846. With the first number appeared the preface to the whole series, in the following form:

ADVERTISEMENT.

Two or three years ago I wrote a Play, about which the chief matter I much care to recollect at present is, that a Pitfull of good-natured people applauded it: ever since, I have been desirous of doing something in the same way that should better reward their attention. What follows, I mean for the first of a series of Dramatical Pieces, to come out at intervals; and I amuse myself by fancying that the cheap mode in which they appear, will for once help me to a sort of Pit-audience again. Of course such a work must go on no longer than it is liked; and to provide against a too certain and but too possible contingency, let me hasten to say now — what, if I were sure of success. I would try to say circumstantially enough at the close — that I dedicate my best intentions most admiringly to the Author of *Ion* — most affectionately to Sergeant Talfourd.

ROBERT BROWNING.

As a preface of the last issue of the series appeared the following:

"Here ends my first series of *Bells and Pomegranates*, and I take the opportunity of explaining, in reply to inquiries, that I only meant by that title to indicate an endeavor towards something like an alternation, or mixture, of music with discoursing, sound with sense, poetry with thought; which looks too ambitious, thus expressed, so the symbol was preferred. It is little to the purpose, that such is actually one of the most familiar of the many Rabbinical (and Patristic) acceptations of the phrase; because I confess that, letting authority alone, I supposed the bare words, in such juxtaposition, would sufficiently convey the desired meaning. 'Faith and good works' is another fancy, for instance, and perhaps no easier to arrive at; yet Giotto placed a pomegranate fruit in the hand of Dante, and Raffaello crowned his Theology (in the *Camera della Segnatura*) with blossoms of the same; as if the Bellari and Vasari would be sure to come after, and explain that it was merely '*simbolo delle buone opere — il qual Pomogranato fu però usato nelle veste del Pontefice appresso gli Ebrei.*'

R. B."

In 1849 was published Browning's *Poems*, in two volumes, only *Paracelsus* and *Bells and Pomegranates* being included. They were prefaced by the following brief statement:

"Many of these pieces were out of print, the rest had been withdrawn from circulation, when the corrected edition, now submitted to the reader, was prepared. The various Poems and Dramas have received the author's most careful revision.

"December, 1848."

Bells and Pomegranates was printed in small type on poor paper, in a cheap pamphlet form; but it first made the poet known, and gained him readers. Two or three of the poems attracted wide attention, and they gave Browning a position as a poet.

The last number of this series of poems was dedicated to Walter Savage Landor; and when it was sent to him he wrote to Browning a letter containing these words: "Accept my thanks for the richest of Easter offerings made to any one for many years. I stayed at home last evening on purpose to read *Luria*, and if I lost any good music (as I certainly did) I was well compensated in kind. To-day I intend to devote the rainy hours entirely to the *Soul's Tragedy*." He also made the following poetic acknowledgment of the kindness shown him by the younger poet in thus dedicating to him one of his works, in his *Works*, 1846:

CCCXIII. To Robert Browning.

Shakespeare is not our poet, but the world's,
Therefore on him no speech! and brief for thee,
Browning! Since Chaucer was alive and hale,
No man has walked along our roads with step
So active, so inquiring eye, or tongue
So varied in discourse. But warmer climes
Give brighter plumage, stronger wing: the breeze
Of Alpine heights thou playest with, borne on
Beyond Sorrento and Amalfi, where
The Siren waits thee, singing song for song.

Ben Karshook's Wisdom. This poem was written at Rome, in April, 1854; and it was first printed in an annual called *The Keepsake*, edited by Miss Power, in 1856. It has not been included by Browning in any edition of his poems; but it is printed in the *Browning Bibliography*,

p. 56, and in the appendix to the Riverside edition of 1888. It would appear that Browning intended to include it in *Men and Women*, for in *One Word More*, lines 135, 136, he says,

> "I am mine and yours — the rest be all men's,
> Karshook, Cleon, Norbert, and the fifty."

In 1872 this defect was remedied by changing "Karshook" to "Karshish" in this place, the latter being the name of the narrator of one of the longer poems in the volume. In Hebrew "Karshook" means "thistle." The reference in the last verse is to 1 Kings vii. 13–22, where Hiram is described as a dexterous worker in brass on Solomon's temple.

BEN KARSHOOK'S WISDOM.

I.

"Would a man 'scape the rod?"
Rabbi Ben Karshook saith,
"See that he turn to God
The day before his death."

"Ay, could a man inquire
When it shall come!" I say.
The Rabbi's eye shoots fire —
"Then let him turn to-day!"

II.

Quoth a young Sadducee:
"Reader of many rolls,
Is it so certain we
Have, as they tell us, souls?"

"Son, there is no reply!"
The Rabbi bit his beard:
"Certain, a soul have *I* —
We may have none," he sneered.

Thus Karshook, the Hiram's-Hammer,
The Right-hand Temple-column,
Taught babes in grace their grammar,
And struck the simple, solemn.

Rome, *April* 27, 1854.

Bernard de Mandeville, Parleyings with. *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, 1887.

Bernard de Mandeville was born at Rotterdam, Holland,

in 1670, his father being a physician. He studied at Leyden, and took the degree of medicine in 1691. He then went to London, and settled there as a physician; but he had little practice. He wrote several works of a satirical nature, which may be found enumerated in Davenport Adam's *Dictionary of English Literature.* In 1705, in the midst of a heated political contest, he published *The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turned Honest.* It was a political jeu d'esprit, a defense of the Duke of Marlborough in regard to the wars he was then carrying on, intending to show that the ambition of that great general and his followers, much inveighed against by party opponents, was in reality a public benefit. Charges of bribery, peculation and dishonesty were made against the party in office; and that the war was continued for private ends.

Mandeville defended the war by attempting to prove that ambition, greed of office and individual self-seeking are necessary to the prosperity of the State. He claimed that private vices are public benefits, because they increase the volume of trade. This poem was little more than doggerel as to its literary form, all its interest being in its paradoxical ethical statements. It was a satire of an audacious kind, having a small amount of grim humor in it.

In 1714 this poem appeared with a prose commentary, in which the author more fully explained his views. In 1723 it was reprinted as *The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Public Benefits.* He published with it a severe attack on charity schools, then greatly in favor among the wealthy and philanthropic. He maintained that these schools trained the children of the poorer classes to become cheats and knaves. His book was indicted before the grand jury of Middlesex county for its immoral teachings. His theories were attacked by Berkeley, Law, Hutcheson, Warburton, and others; and by the moralists of the day he was regarded as a most pernicious writer.

Mandeville's personal character was not above reproach, for he visited coffee-houses and amused their frequenters by ribald conversation. It is charged that he was hired by distillers to write in favor of the use of intoxicating liquors. He was patronized by Lord Macclesfield, at whose table the conversation, which he led, was of the loosest. There Addi-

son met the satirist, who called the great poet "a parson in tie wig," a circumstance to which Browning refers. On one occasion, when Mandeville was gross in his conversation, a clergyman told him that "his name bespoke his character — Man-deville, or a devil of a man." His writings are also coarse and vulgar, but not more so than many others of the time.

Mandeville's chief idea was one frequently put forward during the eighteenth century. It is, that religion and morality are the invention of priests and rulers, to keep the mass of the people under their influence by the means of credulity. He bitterly opposed asceticism, and he maintained that what we call virtue is only selfishness putting on a garb in which to be more successful. He also held that consumption, not saving, is a public benefit. "He that gives most trouble to thousands of his neighbors," he said, "and invents the most operose manufacturies is, right or wrong, the greatest benefit to society." He said again: "What we call evil in this world, moral as well as natural, is the grand principle that makes us social creatures, the solid basis, the light and support of all trades without exception."

It was the eccentric idea of Mandeville, as Sidgwick expresses it, "that moral regulation is something alien to the natural man and imposed on him from without." Ueberweg states his doctrine in these words: "What is called a vice is in fact a public benefit. There is no distinction between the moral impulses or springs of action. Each in its place is natural and legitimate, and the general welfare is best promoted by giving indulgence to all. The restraints on human desires and passions by the magistrate and the priest are factitious and unnatural. Any restraint upon private vices is simply usurpation."

A man of an acute mind Mandeville certainly was; but he was misled by his paradoxical ideas. He saw a few things with an acute penetration of thought; but he stated them in a way to mislead. He saw that evil is relative in its nature, and that it serves a purpose of good in the universe. This is an idea frequently put forward in our day, and by no one more strongly than by Browning, who has stated it in many of his poems.

In Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 23, will be found the best account of Mandeville's ethical and philosophical theories.

See Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*, and essay by Arthur Symons in *Browning Society's Papers*, number nine.

Bifurcation. First published in *Pacchiarotto*, in 1876. The speaker is a man, and he describes his love experiences. The woman he loved, when there came a division between love and duty, took the way of duty ; but with the declaration that she would be true to him until the next life, when they will be united, duty and love having become one. In choosing duty instead of love, however, she takes the easier path, while he has to stumble along a way that is hard and difficult. Evidently the sympathies of the poet are on the side of the speaker.

Bishop Blougram's Apology. *Men and Women*, 1855.

The speaker is a Catholic bishop, sixty years of age ; and he is addressing Gigadibs, a literary man of thirty. The poem is not historical ; but it is understood that Mr. Browning had in mind Cardinal Wiseman when he was giving to the bishop his being and character. In *The Rambler*, a London Catholic journal, for January, 1856, a review of *Men and Women* appeared, which has been attributed to the pen of Cardinal Wiseman. It praises *Bishop Blougram's Apology* for its "fertility of illustration and felicity of argument." It says the poem, "though utterly mistaken in the very groundwork of religion, though starting from the most unworthy notions of the work of a Catholic bishop, and defending a self indulgence every honest man must feel to be disgraceful, is yet in its way triumphant."

See *Browning Society's Papers*, part three, 1 : 279 and 1 : 33*, where is published a careful analysis by Prof. E. Johnson.

Bishop, The, orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church. This poem was first published in *Hood's Magazine*, March, 1845, with the title, *The Tomb at St. Praxed's* (*Rome, 15 —*). During the same year it was published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, number seven of *Bells and Pomegranates*, as *The Tomb at St. Praxed's*. In the

Poetical Works of 1863 it was classed under the head of *Men and Women*, and was given the present title.

St. Praxedis or Praxedes was an early Christian saint, who lived about the time of Antoninus Pius. Praxedes and Pudentiana were daughters of Pudens, a Roman senator, the friend of St. Paul, and who is mentioned in 2 Timothy iv. 21. They spent their lives in works of charity and in giving aid to the persecuted Christians. See an account of them in Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*. The house of Pudens is said to have been used by St. Peter as a place of worship. Churches were early built to the memory of both these good women, that to St. Praxedes on the spot where the house of Pudens was located. In 499 an oratory was built over her grave in Rome by Pius I. This building having been destroyed in 822, the present church was built by Paschal I. Mr. Rolfe says of her church: "During the absence of the popes at Avignon it fell to ruin, but was restored by Nicholas V., in the fifteenth century, and by St. Charles Borromeo in 1564. The mosaics of the church are especially remarkable. All the stone-work is of the rarest. The tribune is ascended by a flight of steps composed of large slabs of *rosso antico*. The pillars on each side of the high altar are of white marble beautifully carved with foliage. St. Praxed's slab (on which she slept) is of *nerobianco* granite. One of the chapels is entered by a doorway formed of two columns of the rare black porphyry and granite, supporting an elaborately sculptured frieze. The outer and inner walls are covered by mosaics. From their richness this chapel was called *Orto del Paradiso*, or the Garden of Paradise. It contains one of the most celebrated relics in Rome — the column to which Christ was bound. It is a curious fact that so elaborate a church should have risen in honor of a maiden whose distinguishing virtue was her simplicity. To complete the contrast, to-day no woman is allowed to enter this rich chapel except on Sundays in Lent. At other times they can only look into it through a grating. Opposite the side entrance to the *Orto del Paradiso* is the tomb of Cardinal Cetive (1474) with his sleeping figure, which reminds us of the Bishop's design for his tomb, whereon he is to lie through centuries."

The Bishop's tomb has no existence in this church, unless it may have been suggested by that of Cardinal Cetive. It was invented by Browning, as was the Bishop himself. The aim of the poem evidently is to bring out some of the leading characteristics of the Renaissance, as they had an influence on the Church, and on the lives of its leading ecclesiastics. The value of the poem as a picture of that period has been well stated by Mr. Ruskin, in his *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. chap. xx. sections 32 and 34:

"Robert Browning is unerring in every sentence he writes of the Middle Ages; always vital, right, and profound; so that in the matter of art there is hardly a principle connected with the medieval temper, that he has not struck upon in those seemingly careless and too rugged rhymes of his. There is a curious instance, by the way, in a short poem referring to this very subject of tomb and image sculpture; and illustrating just one of those phases of local human character which, though belonging to Shakespere's own age, he never noticed, because it was specially Italian and un-English; connected also closely with the influence of mountains on the heart, and therefore with our immediate inquiries. I mean the kind of admiration with which a southern artist regarded the *stone* he worked in; and the pride which populace or priest took in the possession of precious mountain substance, worked into the pavements of their cathedrals, and the shafts of their tombs.

"Observe, Shakespere, in the midst of architecture and tombs of wood, or freestone, or brass, naturally thinks of *gold* as the best enriching and ennobling substance for them; — in the midst also of the fever of the Renaissance he writes, as every one else did, in praise of precisely the most vicious master of that school — Giulio Romano; but the modern poet, living much in Italy, and quite of the Renaissance influence, is able fully to enter into the Italian feeling, and to see the evil of the Renaissance tendency, not because he is greater than Shakespere, but because he is in another element, and has *seen* other things."

After two liberal quotations from the poem, descriptive of the church and its marble and granite decorations, Mr. Ruskin speaks especially of this poem as bearing on the age which it describes:

"I know no other piece of modern English, prose or poetry, in which there is so much told, as in these lines, of the Renaissance spirit, — its worldliness, inconsistency, pride, hypocrisy, ignorance of itself, love of art, of luxury, and of good Latin. It is nearly all that I said of the central Renaissance in thirty pages of the *Stones of Venice*, put into as many lines. Browning's being also the antecedent work. The worst of it is that this kind of concentrated writing needs so much solution before the reader can fairly get the good of it, that people's patience fails them, and they give the thing up as insoluble; though, truly, it ought to be to the current of common thought like Saladin's talisman, dipped in clear water, not soluble altogether, but making the element medicinal."

This poem is a subtle interpretation of a medieval case of self-deceit. A Bishop on his death-bed calls his sons (ostensibly nephews, in accordance with a custom of the time, which allowed ecclesiastics to have wives in fact, but not in name) about him to request of them the erection of a beautiful monument over his grave. His æsthetic taste, his selfishness and love of luxury, his hatred of a rival, and his fear that the greed of his sons will cause them to disregard his request are all most faithfully depicted in the words of the dying prelate. The Bishop's beautiful mistress, whom Gandolf, his predecessor in the bishop's chair, had tried to take from him, the death of Gandolf and his securing the place where the Bishop meant to have had his own tomb erected, the Bishop's love of beauty for its sensual delight, his yearning to have his burial place marked with the finest of tombs, and the selfish refusal of his sons to waste money on the dead bishop, are graphically described in his dying address to his sons.

The Tully of this poem was Marcus Tullius Cicero, while Ulpian was a Roman jurist who lived from 170 to 228 A. D. *Elucescebat* is wrongly formed from *elucere*, and has the meaning, in an epitaph, of "noted" or "notable." Mr. Rolfe says that the Frascati villa is "a favorite resort, twelve miles from Rome, on the slope of the Alban hills. It was built in 1191 on the ruins of a villa overgrown with underwood (*frasche*), whence its name." He says of the expression "the Father's globe": "In the great Jesuit church in

Rome, the altar of St. Ignatius is adorned with a group of the Trinity by Bernardino Ludovisi. The Father holds a globe, which is said to be the largest piece of *lapislazuli* in existence." Of the antique-black basalt the Bishop asks for the slab of his tomb, Mr. Ruskin says: "*Nero antico* is more familiar to our ears; but Browning does right in translating it; as afterwards *cipollino* into 'onion-stone.' Our stupid habit of using foreign words without translating is continually losing us half the force of the foreign language. How many travelers hearing the term *cipollino* recognize the intended sense of a stone splitting into concentric coats, like an onion?"

In his *Select Poems* Rolfe gives notes and comments.

Blind Man to the Maiden, The. In Mrs. Clara Bell's translation of Wilhelmine von Hillern's novel, *The Hour Will Come*, a little poem rendered into English verse is attributed to the pen of a friend. This anonymous friend was Browning. His version was reprinted in the *Whitehall Review* for March 1, 1883, and in the fourth number of *The Browning Society's Papers*.

The blind man to the maiden said,
"O thou of hearts the truest,
Thy countenance is hid from me;
Let not my question anger thee!
Speak, though in words the fewest.

"Tell me, what kind of eyes are thine?
Dark eyes, or light ones rather?"
"My eyes are a decided brown —
So much, at least, by looking down,
From the brook's glass I gather."

"And is it red — thy little mouth?
That too the blind must care for."
"Ah! I would tell it soon to thee,
Only — none yet has told it me.
I cannot answer, therefore.

"But dost thou ask what heart I have —
There hesitate I never.
In thine own breast 't is borne, and so
'T is thine in weal, and thine in woe,
For life, for death — thine ever!"

Blot in the 'Scutcheon, A. The history of the writing and stage production of this drama has been so well told by

Mr. Edmund Gosse, in his paper on *The Early Writings of Robert Browning*, reprinted in *Personalia*, that he will be allowed to retell it here. After mentioning the great success of Macready on the stage, and his taking the management of Drury Lane Theatre, his embarrassed financial condition is described in connection with new plays brought out by him. "But, in the mean time," says Mr. Gosse, "Mr. Browning, who had been asked by Macready to write a play for him, had devised and composed, in the space of five days, one of the most remarkable of his works, *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*. This had been received, and delight had been expressed by Macready on reading it. The author was, therefore, surprised that on the withdrawal of *Plighted Troth* (a play written by George Darley), he received no invitation, in accordance with etiquette, to read it aloud to the actors previous to rehearsal. He had no inkling whatever of Macready's embarrassments, and not the slightest notion that it was hoped that he would withdraw the piece. At last, on Saturday, the 4th of February, 1843, Macready called Mr. Browning into his private room, and said to him: —

"'Your play was read to the actors yesterday, and they received it with shouts of laughter.'

"'Who read it?'

"'Oh, Mr. Wilmot.'

"Now, Wilmot was the prompter, a broadly comic personage with a wooden leg and a very red face, whose vulgar sallies were the delight of all the idle jesters that hung about the theatre. That such a drama as *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* should be given to Wilmot to read was simply an insult, and one of which Mr. Browning did not conceal his perception. Macready saw his mistake, and said: 'Wilmot is a ridiculous being, of course. On Monday I myself will read it to the actors.' On Monday, accordingly, he read it, but he announced to Mr. Browning that he should not act in it himself, but that Phelps, then quite a new man, would take the principal part. This was an unheard-of thing in those days, when it was supposed that Macready was absolutely essential to a new tragedy. Of course his hope was that Mr. Browning would say: 'You not play in it? Then, of course, I withdraw it.' But the actor's manner was so

far from suggesting that truth that the poet never suspected the real state of the case. He accepted Phelps, but when the rehearsal began on Tuesday, Phelps was very ill with English cholera, and could not be present, so Macready read his part for him. On Wednesday Mr. Browning noticed that Macready was not merely reading, he was rehearsing the part, moving across the stage, and counting his steps. When Mr. Browning arrived on Thursday, there was poor Phelps sitting close to the door, as white as a sheet, evidently very poorly. Macready began: 'As Mr. Phelps is so ill — you are very ill, are you not, Mr. Phelps? — it will be impossible for him to master his part by Saturday, and I shall therefore take it myself.' Mr. Browning was not at all pleased with this shuffling, for which he could divine no cause, and he was still more annoyed by the changes which were being made in the poem. The title was to be changed to *The Sisters*, the first act was to be cut out, and it was to end without any tragic *finale*, but with these sublime lines, due to the unaided genius of Macready alone: —

> 'Within a monastery's solitude
> Penance and prayer shall wear my life away.'

"Mr. Browning was determined, if possible, to check this wanton sacrifice of the poem, and so he took the MS. to his publisher Moxon, who also had a quarrel with Macready, and who was therefore only too pleased to coöperate in his confusion. *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* was printed in a few hours, in a single sheet, as part five of *Bells and Pomegranates*, and was in the hands of each of the actors before Mr. Browning reached the theatre on Friday morning. As he entered, he met Phelps, who was waiting for him at the door, and who said:

"'It is true, sir, that I have been ill, but I am better now, and if you choose to give the part to me, which I can hardly expect you to do, I should be able to act it to-morrow night.'

"'But is it possible,' said Mr. Browning, 'that you could learn it so soon?'

"'Yes,' answered Phelps, 'I should sit up all night and know it perfectly.'

"Mr. Browning's determination was soon taken; he took Phelps with him into the green-room, where Macready was already studying the play in its printed form, with the actors round him. Mr. Browning stopped him, and said:

"'I find that Mr. Phelps, although he has been ill, feels himself quite able to take the part, and I shall be very glad to leave it in his hands.' Macready rose and said:

"'But do you understand that I, *I*, am going to act the part?'

"'I shall be very glad to intrust it to Mr. Phelps,' said Mr. Browning, upon which Macready crumpled up the play he was holding in his hand, and threw it to the other end of the room.

"After such an event, it was with no very hopeful feelings that Mr. Browning awaited the first performance on the next night, February 11th. He would not allow his parents or his sister to go to the theatre; no tickets were sent to him, but finding that the stage-box was his, not by favor, but by right, he went with no other companion than Mr. Edward Moxon. But his expectations of failure were not realized. Phelps acted magnificently, carrying out the remark of Macready, that the difference between himself and the other actors was that they could do magnificent things now and then, on a spurt, but that he could always command his effects. Anderson, a *jeune premier* of promise, acted the young lover with considerable spirit, although the audience was not quite sure whether to laugh or no when he sang his song, 'There 's a Woman like a Dewdrop,' in the act of climbing in the window. Finally, Miss Helen Faucit almost surpassed herself in Mildred Tresham. The piece was entirely successful, though Mr. R. H. Horne, who was in the front of the pit, tells me that Anderson was for some time only half-serious, and quite ready to have turned traitor if the public had encouraged him. When the curtain went down the applause was vociferous. Phelps was called and recalled, and then there rose the cry of 'Author!' To this Mr. Browning remained silent and out of sight, and the audience continued to shout until Anderson came forward, and keeping his eye on Mr. Browning, said, 'I believe that the author is not present, but if he is I entreat him to come forward!' The poet, however, turned

a deaf ear to this appeal, and went home very sore with Macready, and what he considered his purposeless and vexatious schemings. *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* was announced to be played 'three times a week until further notice'; was performed with entire success to crowded houses, until the final collapse of Macready's schemes brought it abruptly to a close.

"Such is the true story of an event on which Macready in his journals has kept an obstinate silence, and which one erring critic after another has chronicled as the failure, 'as a matter of course,' of Mr. Browning's 'improbable' play. Neither on its first appearance, nor when Phelps revived it at Sadler's Wells, was *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* received by the public otherwise than with warm applause. As in the case of *Strafford*, a purely accidental circumstance, unconnected with Mr. Browning, cut it short in the midst of a successful run."

In his diary Macready makes the briefest allusions to *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*. February 4, he says it is in rehearsal; on the 6th he mentions Phelps' illness and his own reading of the play in his place, and on the 11th its production. The notices of the play given at the time in the newspapers do not fully sustain Mr. Gosse's account. *The Literary Gazette* said that after the first night, its success was doubtful, and that its inherent faults were fatal. "At the end," it said, "the applause greatly predominated; but still we cannot promise the *Blot* that it will not soon be wiped off the stage." *The Examiner* spoke of causes in the subject itself that might give the play a short existence on the stage; but its notice was very favorable. "We are not sanguine of the chances of continued patronage to *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*. People are already finding out, we see, that there is a great deal that is equivocal in its sentiments, a vast quantity of mere artifice in its situations, and in its general composition not much to 'touch humanity.' We do not pretend to know what should touch humanity, beyond that which touches our own hearts, but we would give little for the feelings of a man who could read this tragedy without a deep emotion. It is very sad; painfully and perhaps needlessly so; but it is unutterably tender, passionate, and true."

John Forster read the play in manuscript, which he sent to Dickens for his perusal. In a letter to Forster, dated November 25, 1842, Dickens wrote: "Browning's play has thrown me into a perfect passion of sorrow. To say that there is anything in its subject save what is lovely, true, deeply affecting, full of the best emotion, the most earnest feeling, and the most true and tender source of interest, is to say that there is no light in the sun, and no heat in blood. It is full of genius, natural and great thoughts, profound and yet simple, and yet beautiful in its vigor. I know nothing that is so affecting, nothing in any book I have ever read, as Mildred's recurrence to that 'I was so young — I had no mother.' I know no love like it, no passion like it, no moulding of a splendid thing after its conception, like it. And I swear it is a tragedy that must be played: and must be played, moreover, by Macready. There are some things I would have changed if I could (they are very slight, mostly broken lines); and I assuredly would have the old servant begin his tale upon the scene; and be taken by the throat, or drawn upon, by his master in its commencement. And if you tell Browning that I have seen it, tell him that I believe from my soul there is no living man (and not many dead) who could produce such a work."

Miss Helen Faucit, afterwards Lady Martin, who played the part of Mildred Tresham on this occasion gives an account of the reading of the play, in *Blackwood's Magazine* for March, 1881, when writing of Mr. Elton. "It seems but yesterday," she says, "that I sat by his side in the green-room at the reading of Robert Browning's beautiful drama *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon.* As a rule, Mr. Macready always read the new plays. But owing, I suppose, to some press of business, the task was intrusted on this occasion to the head prompter, — a clever man in his way, but wholly unfitted to bring out, or even to understand, Mr. Browning's meaning. Consequently, the delicate, subtle lines were twisted, perverted, and sometimes even made ridiculous in his hands. My 'cruel father' was a warm admirer of the poet. He sat writhing and indignant, and tried by gentle asides to make me see the real meaning of the verse. But somehow the mischief proved irreparable, for a few of the actors during the rehearsals chose to continue to misunder-

stand the text, and never took the interest in the play which they would have done had Mr. Macready read it, — for he had great power as a reader. I always thought it was chiefly because of this *contretemps* that a play, so thoroughly dramatic, failed, despite its painful story, to make the great success which was justly its due."

A Blot in the 'Scutcheon was revived by the Mr. Phelps who played the leading part at its first presentation, at Sadler's Wells Theatre, Nov. 27, 1848. It was played in Boston, March 16, 1885, under the management of Mr. Lawrence Barrett. The London Browning Society brought it out at St. George's Hall, May 2, 1885. The action of the play occupies two days. The time of the story it tells is the eighteenth century, according to Mr. Browning himself. The code of honor is still in force, and a morbid spirit of chivalry, characteristic of that code at that period, expresses itself in the play.

This is the simplest, most direct in method, and the most pathetic of Mr. Browning's plays. In itself the story it tells is interesting, and calculated to appeal to our deepest sympathies. The motive is family honor, which was strong among the aristocratic families of England in the eighteenth century; and the tragedy arises from a too hasty and a too chivalric desire to avenge any blot on the escutcheon of that honor. Of the tragical motive and the ethical intent of the play Mr. Arthur Symons says this right word in his *Introduction:*

"The whole action is passionately pathetic, and it is infused with a twofold tragedy — the tragedy of the sin, and that of the misunderstanding — the last and final tragedy, which hangs on a word, a word spoken when too late to save three lives. This irony of circumstance is at once the source of earth's saddest discords, and the motive of art's truest tragedies. It takes the place, in our modern world, of the irresistible fate of the Greeks; and is not less impressive because it arises from the impulse and unreasoning willfulness of man rather than from the implacable insistency of God. It is with deep justice, both moral and artistic, that the fatal crisis, though mediately the result of accident, of error, is shown to be the consequence and the punishment of wrong. A tragedy resulting from the mis-

takes of the wholly innocent would jar on our sense of right and could never produce a legitimate work of art. Even Œdipus suffers, not merely because he is under the curse of a higher power, but because he is willful, and rushes upon his own fate. In this play each of the characters calls down upon his own head the suffering which at first seems to be a mere caprice and confusion of chance. Mildred Tresham and Henry Mertoun, both very young, ignorant and unguarded, have sinned. They attempt a late reparation, apparently with success, but the hasty suspicion of Lord Tresham, Mildred's brother, diverted indeed into a wrong channel, brings down on both a terrible retribution. Tresham, who shares the ruin he causes, feels, too, that his punishment is due. He has acted without pausing to consider, and he is called on to pay the penalty of evil wrought by want of thought."

A Blot in the 'Scutcheon is put into a narrative form, and therefore more or less fully interpreted, in Mr. F. M. Holland's *Stories from Browning*. Mr. Fotheringham, in his *Studies*, criticises somewhat the artistic and ethical motives of the play. He says that when it was produced on the stage in London the play was not quite a success, and that the public thought the subject unpleasant. Mrs. Orr's brief outline of the plot and interpretation of its motives will be found helpful in following the course of the play. Rolfe, in his *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon and other dramas by Robert Browning*, gives Mr. Lawrence Barrett's account of his own presentation of the play, who also comments on the acting qualities of the drama. Mr. Rolfe gives full annotations, as well as critical comments on the drama from several persons who have written about it. See *Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 77*; Lawrence Barrett's presentation, 2 : 43*, 26*; presentation in London, 1885, 2 : 59*; presentation in London, March 15, 1888, 2 : 250*.

Bluphocks. The English vagabond, in *Pippa Passes.*

Boot and Saddle. First published in the third number of *Bells and Pomegranates* in 1842, and has from that time appeared in *Dramatic Lyrics.* It was the third number of the *Cavalier Tunes* with which that work opened. It was at first published under the title of *My Wife Gertrude ;* but the present title was given it in the *Poems*

of 1849. It is a Cavalier song of the time of Charles I., sung by a party of gentlemen as they saddle preparatory to the rescuing of a besieged castle.

Bottinius. The public prosecutor, who in *The Ring and the Book* presents the case against Count Guido. His speech forms the ninth book of the poem.

Boy and the Angel, The. First published in *Hood's Magazine*, August, 1844. It was rewritten, with five new couplets, and was published in 1845, in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, or number seven of *Bells and Pomegranates*. When it appeared in the *Poetical Works* of 1868 a fresh verse was added. In 1844 the poem ended as follows: —

> "Go back and praise again
> The early way, while I remain.
>
> "Be again the boy all curl'd;
> I will finish with the world."
>
> Theocrite grew old at home,
> Gabriel dwelt in Peter's dome.

This poem has no historical foundation, although it fully represents the Middle-Age spirit. The lesson is the same as that contained in *Pippa Passes*, that "all service ranks the same with God," therefore we are not to seek to escape from whatever task he has assigned us. See Kingsland's *Chief Poet of the Age*.

By the Fireside. *Men and Women*, 1855; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

The speaker is a man of middle age addressing his wife. The conception of love, presented in this poem, where it is described as a means of spiritual awakening and growth, is discussed in John T. Nettleship's *Robert Browning: Essays and Thoughts*, where this poem is fully analyzed. Browning's conception of love as a means of conversion is discussed on page 58 of Professor Corson's *Introduction to Browning*. The picture of the wife with

> "that great brow
> And the spirit-small hand propping it"

was taken from Mrs. Browning; and much of the poem was probably suggested by the poet's own experiences of love and wedded life.

Caliban upon Setebos; or, Natural Theology in the Island. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

The motto from the fiftieth Psalm gives the point of view of the poem; it is a study in anthropomorphism. The god Setebos is described in Richard Eden's *History of Travaile*, published in London, in 1577. See *The First Three English Books on America*, edited by Edward Arber. Eden quotes from Antonio Pigafetta's account of the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan. Also see *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, 1613, where the same account is given. In describing the capture of some natives of Patagonia, Eden says: —

"After other fifteen days were past, there came four other giants without any weapons, but had hid their bows and arrows in certain bushes. The captain retained two of these which were youngest and best made. He took them by a deceit in this manner, that giving them knives, shears, looking glasses, bells, beads of crystal, and such other trifles, he so filled their hands that they could hold no more. Then caused two pair of shackles of iron to be put on their legs, making signs that he would also give them those chains; which they liked very well because they were made of bright and shining metal. And whereas they could not carry them because their hands were full, the other giants would have carried them; but the captain would not suffer them. When they felt the shackles fast about their legs they began to doubt; but the captain did put them in comfort and bade them stand still. In fine, when they saw how they were deceived they roared like bulls and cried upon their great devil Setebos to help them. Being thus taken they were immediately separate and put in sundry ships. They could never bind the hands of the other two. Yet was one of them with much difficulty overthrown by nine of our men, and his hands bound; but he suddenly loosed himself and fled, as did also the other that came with them. In their flying they shot off their arrows, and slew one of our men. They say that when one of them die, there appear x. or xii. devils leaping and dancing about the body of the dead, and seem to have their bodies painted with divers colors. And that among others there is one seen bigger than the residue, who maketh great mirth and rejoicing. This great devil they call *Setebos*, and call the

lesser *Cheleule.* One of these giants which they took, declared by signs that he had seen devils with two horns above their heads, with long hair down to their feet; and that they cast forth fire at their throats both before and behind. The Captain named these people *Patagoni.* The most of them wear the skins of such beasts whereof I have spoken before; and have no house of continuance, but maketh certain cottages which they cover with the said skins, and carry them from place to place. They live of raw flesh and a certain sweet root which they call *Capar.* One of these which they had in their ships did eat at one meal a basket of biscuits, and drank a bowl of water at a draught."

What Pigafetta calls a devil is the deity of the Patagonians. The conception of a deity higher than Setebos, a deity friendly to man, whereas Setebos torments him, is certainly not borrowed from the Patagonians or any similar people. The benign "Quiet" is much more in harmony with Greek conceptions. It is not even from Shakespeare that Browning gets this idea, although the general conception of the poem is taken from *The Tempest.* In that romantic drama Caliban is one of the characters, while Prospero and Miranda play leading parts. Shakespeare took Caliban and Setebos from some report of Magellan's voyage which had been given him; and perhaps the general idea of the play. He describes Caliban, as Coleridge puts it, in his notes on the *Tempest*, as "all earth, all condensed and gross in feeling and images; he has the dawnings of understanding without reason or the moral sense, and in him, as in some brute animals, this advance to the intellectual faculties, without the moral sense, is marked by the appearance of vice."

Shakespeare makes Prospero call Caliban "a freckled whelp hag-born." His mother is "the foul witch Sycorax," who has been cast upon the desert island, and has there given birth to Caliban. In the second scene of the second act, Caliban, upon the approach of Trinculo, falls flat upon his face; and when the thunder comes on he grovels in the manner described by Browning at the end of his poem. Later on Caliban takes Stephano for his god, and is anxious to get rid of Prospero, because he is too exacting in regard

to the labor he expects him to perform. Near the end of the drama Alonso says of him: "This is a strange thing as e'er I look'd on." Throughout the drama he is a wild, abject, half-brutish, degraded creature, without moral sense, groveling in superstitious fear. This creature of Shakespeare's has the soliloquy of this poem put into his mouth while Prospero and Miranda sleep; but in a manner quite other than Shakespeare's, less romantic, more subtle, much influenced by modern philosophic ideas, and with a power of reasoning which Shakespeare's Caliban did not possess.

The best study of the poem is that by Mr. J. Cotter Morison, in *The Browning Society's Papers*, part five; though the discussion which followed, reported in the same number, is even better. Mr. Morison says the poem "is an indirect yet scathing satire of a rather painful class of reasoners who, while beginning with the admission that the nature of the Godhead is an inscrutable mystery, proceed to write long books to prove their special and minute knowledge of its character; which knowledge of theirs, you may by no means contradict or deny under penalties. 'Very well,' the poet seems to have said, 'you complacently draw God after your own image — a flattering likeness no doubt — and you insist upon our accepting your picture as a facsimile of the original. But if your method is legitimate, you cannot pretend to a monopoly of it; other creatures, whether above or beneath you, have the same right to apply it with equal warranty. Here, for instance, is my Caliban, a sturdy reasoner after his own fashion. He looks within his bosom — just as you do — and this is what he finds, his conception of Setebos. You think it very unlovely, but what surety can you offer that your conception of the Eternal is not as repulsive to other beings who may be as much superior to you as you are to Caliban? Nay, that it is not as repulsive to many of your fellow-men, who, by reason of a different education and studies, do not share your opinions?' Something like this may be supposed to have passed through the poet's mind." Mr. Edward Dowden, in his *Studies in Literature*, says that in this poem "the poet has, with singular and most terrible force, represented what must be the natural theology of one who is merely an intellectual animal, devoid of spiritual cravings, sensibilities and checks."

Mr. Morison's Browning Society paper is in part five, 1 : 489 ; and the discussion which followed its reading is in 1 : 115*.

Camel Driver, A. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

The *soldier-guide* of the first line is a creation of the poet's. — *Rakhsh* or Rakush is the horse of Rustem, the great hero of the *Shah Nameh*. He was the offspring of Abresh, and born of a Diw or Demon. Rustem subdued Rakhsh after much effort, and found in him ever after a most trusty companion, that carried him through all his marvelous adventures.

Camp and Cloister. See *Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister* and *Incident of the French Camp*.

Caponsacchi. The canon of Arezzo, in *The Ring and the Book*, who assists Pompilia in escaping from Count Guido. His narrative forms the sixth book of the poem. A study of this character is given in *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 269.

Cardinal and the Dog, The. *Asolando*, 1889.

William Macready, the eldest son of the actor William Charles Macready, had a talent for drawing, and he asked Browning to give him something to illustrate. In answer to this request the poet made a poem out of an old account of the death of the Pope's legate at the Council of Trent. The boy made such clever drawings for it, that the poet took up a more picturesque subject, and wrote *The Pied Piper*. The present poem, although written about 1840, the poet kept by him until the publication of *Asolando*.

Browning puts this incident in the year 1522, and he says the legate was Crescenzio. A similar story is told in Peter Ribadeneira's *Flower of the Lives of the Saints*. "When St. Stanislaus Kostka was preparing himself for admission into the Society of Jesus, he was visited with a dangerous sickness ; at the beginning of which the devil appeared to him in the guise of a great black dog, horrible and fearful to behold. The foul fiend took the sick man thrice by the throat, trying to throttle him ; but Stanislaus, with the sign of the cross, not only resisted him manfully, but even drove him away, and he never again disturbed this faithful soldier of Jesus Christ."

This great black dog is none other than the wind-god or the messenger of death. In his *Myths and Myth-Makers*,

Mr. John Fiske says: "Countless examples go to show that by the early Aryan mind the howling wind was conceived as a great dog or wolf. As the fearful beast was heard speeding by the windows or over the house-top, the inmates trembled, for none knew but his own soul might forthwith be required of him. Hence, to this day, among ignorant people, the howling of a dog under the window is supposed to portend death in the family. It is the fleet greyhound of Hermes, come to escort the soul to the river Styx. In Persia a dog is brought to the bedside of the person who is dying, that the soul may be sure of a prompt escort; the same custom exists in India. . . . Throughout all Aryan mythology the souls of the dead are supposed to ride on the night-wind, with their howling dogs, gathering into their throng the souls of those just dying as they pass by their houses. Hence, in many parts of Europe, it is still customary to open the windows when a person dies, in order that the soul may not be hindered in joining the mystic cavalcade. Sometimes the whole complex conception is wrapped up in the notion of a single dog, the messenger of the god of shades, who comes to summon the departing soul." In the Christian mythology of the Middle Ages the dog has simply become a devil or an evil messenger of death.

It is curious that while Browning wrote this poem and *The Pied Piper* in one connection, Mr. John Fiske intimately associates them in their mythological meanings. They are both myths of the wind; and of the same nature is the associated myth of Bishop Hatto. See *Myths and Myth-Makers*, pp. 31–35. See Appendix.

Cavalier Tunes. *Dramatic Lyrics*, published in 1842, as the third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, opened with three songs under this general title. They represent the interests of Charles I., and strongly oppose the Roundheads. Their separate titles are *Marching along*, *Give a Rouse*, and *Boot* and *Saddle;* which see. These songs have been set to music by Dr. Villiers Stanford. *Poems*, 1849; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Cenciaja. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*, 1876.

The motto means that trifles seek for attention in place of more weighty matters. The word "Cenciaja," says Mrs. Orr, as used in this case, is perhaps chiefly a pun on the mean-

ing of the plural noun *cenci*, "old rags." The crying of this word, which is frequent in the streets of Rome, was mistaken by Shelley, when he was writing his play of *The Cenci*, for a voice urging him to go on with that work. By Browning the word is employed as the title of his poem, to indicate the comparative unimportance of his addition to the story of the Cenci.

The poem opens with a reference to Shelley's tragedy called *The Cenci*, in the preface to which he tells the story of that family. "A manuscript," he says, "was communicated to me during my travels in Italy, which was copied from the archives of the Cenci Palace at Rome, and contains a detailed account of the horrors which ended in the extinction of one of the noblest and richest families of that city, during the Pontificate of Clement VIII., in the year 1599. The story is, that an old man having spent his life in debauchery and wickedness, conceived at length an implacable hatred towards his children; which showed itself towards one daughter under the form of an incestuous passion, aggravated by every circumstance of cruelty and violence. This daughter, after long and vain attempts to escape from what she considered a perpetual contamination both of body and mind, at length plotted with her mother-in-law and brother to murder their common tyrant. The young maiden, who was urged to this tremendous deed by an impulse which overpowered its horror, was evidently a most gentle and amiable being, a creature formed to adorn and be admired, and thus violently thwarted from her nature by the necessity of circumstance and opinion. The deed was quickly discovered, and, in spite of the most earnest prayers made to the Pope by the highest persons in Rome, the criminals were put to death. The old man had, during his life, repeatedly bought his pardon from the Pope for capital crimes of the most enormous and unspeakable kind, at the price of a hundred thousand crowns; the death, therefore, of his victims can scarcely be accounted for by the love of justice. The Pope, among other motives for severity, probably felt that whoever killed the Count Cenci deprived his treasury of a certain and copious source of revenue."

In the present poem Browning gives another reason for

the pope's severity, which came to his knowledge from the pages of a contemporary chronicle, which he has used quite literally in some parts of the poem. This MS. volume was loaned to the poet by Sir John Simeon, and it has since been published by the Philobiblion Society. The pope, according to this narrative, was likely to grant a pardon to Beatrice; but just then the Marchesa dell' Oriolo, a widow, was murdered by her younger son. Paolo Santa Croce. The young man sought to secure the rights of his older brother, but when his mother refused to grant him these, he became a matricide. He succeeded in making good his escape; but a letter written to his older brother seemed to implicate him also, and he, though wholly innocent, was charged with being accessory to the crime, was wrought upon until he was driven into insanity, made confession, and was beheaded. The prosecutor of the case against Onofrio Marchese dell' Oriolo was his rival for the affections of a lady; and because the Marchese had flaunted his success in the other's face, hatred worked his ruin. This murder having been committed on the very day which closed the trial of the Cenci, sealed the doom of Beatrice. The portrait of Beatrice Cenci, painted by Guido while she was in prison, has made her face known to every one.

In Mr. H. B. Forman's edition of the *Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 418, he gives an account of the Cenci, together with a letter from Browning concerning the poem:

"Mr. Browning's *Cenciaja* deals with the episode of Paolo Santa Croce, the matricide, whose crime had so disastrous a bearing on the issue of the Cenci tragedy. The main fact, on which Shelley places no very marked stress, though he introduces it, is that, when the fate of Beatrice and her brother and stepmother still hung in the balance, Paolo Santa Croce killed his mother and made good his escape, whereon the Pope became absolutely inflexible in his resolution that the three guilty Cenci should die. Mr. Browning details in *Cenciaja* the motives, not only of Paolo Santa Croce, but also of Cardinal Aldobrandini, the Pope's nephew, in incriminating Paolo's brother, Onofrio Santa Croce, and hunting him down to execution; and it is a noteworthy thing that this same cardinal, whose deadly hatred availed

to bring Onofrio Santa Croce to a disgraceful death, had also indirectly ruined the Cenci family. It was he who benefited so largely by the continuance of Count Francesco Cenci in his high-priced crimes; and but for him, 'the wickedest man on record,' as Landor calls Cenci, would probably have perished before his daughter had been set in the dire necessity of compassing his death. How far Aldobrandini may have been interested in extinguishing the family, of whom only the innocent Bernardo escaped with difficulty, it were hazardous to surmise; but probably his enormous influence with the Pope would be against them. The story of Onofrio and this diabolical dignitary of the Church is within every one's reach, and should be read by all who are interested in those bypaths of history which have fed the imaginations of our greatest poets; but a further comment on the Cenci story, which has not, as far as I know, had any opportunity of finding its way about among Shelley students, must be here recorded.

"Having occasion to write Mr. Browning on another matter connected with this edition of Shelley's works, I asked him the precise value we were to attach to the terminal *aja* in the title of his poem — a title, by the way, which is followed by the Italian proverb, *Ogni cencio vuol entrare in bucato,* and I received the following answer: —

"19 Warwick Crescent, W., *July* 27, '76.

"Dear Mr. Buxton Forman: There can be no objection to such a simple statement as you have inserted, if it seems worth inserting. 'Fact,' it is. Next: 'aia' is generally an accumulative yet depreciative termination: 'Cenciaja' — a bundle of rags — a trifle. The proverb means 'every poor creature will be pressing into the company of his betters,' and I used it to deprecate the notion that I intended anything of the kind. Is it any contribution to 'all connected with Shelley,' if I mention that my 'Book' (*The Ring and the Book*) [rather the 'old square yellow book' from which the details were taken] has a reference to the reason given by Farinacci, the advocate of the Cenci, of his failure in the defence of Beatrice? 'Fuise punitam Beatricem (he declares) poenâ ultimi supplicii, non quia ex intervallo occidi mandavit insidiantem suo honori, sed quia ejus exceptionem non probavitibi — *Prout, et idem firmiter sperabatur de sorore Beatrice si propositam excusationem probasset, prout non probavit.*' That is, she expected to avow the main outrage, and did not: in conformity with her words, 'That which I ought to confess, that will I confess; that to which I ought to assent, to that I assent; and that which I ought to deny, that will I deny.' Here is another Cenciaja!

Yours very sincerely, Robert Browning."

Charles Avison, Parleyings with. *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, 1887.

Charles Avison was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, in 1710, studied music in Italy, and became a pupil of Geminiani on his return. In 1736 he became the organist of St. Nicholas Church at Newcastle; and in that position the remainder of his life was spent. In 1752 he published an *Essay on Musical Expression*, which was well written, showing much acuteness of thought, and in which he praised French and Italian music, preferring it to the German. It created quite a stir, was translated into German, and was replied to by Dr. Hayes, a musical critic of the day. To Dr. Hayes, Avison gave answer, but not with entire success. He gave a higher position to Geminiani than to Handel. Avison published five collections of *Concertos for a Full Band*, forty-five in all; and two sets of sonatas for the harpsichord and two violins. He had a considerable reputation both as a critic and as a composer of music. His music is light and elegant, but wanting in originality. He also published, in eight volumes, an adaptation of Marcello's *Psalms*, to the first of which an account of his own life was prefixed. Mr. Barnett Smith says that "very little is known of his life, but he had the reputation of being a man of great culture and polish, and for many years was the chief of a small circle of musical amateurs in the north of England who were devoted to his views." A contemporary, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, described him as "an ingenious, polite and cultivated man," who "from being an agreeable, well informed and gentlemanlike man of the world, directed the musical opinions of his circle to his own taste, and, in some instances, prejudices."

The subject of the poem is the *Grand March* written by Avison, a copy of which was possessed in manuscript by Browning's father, and the music of which is given at the end of the poem. The *Relfe* who is two or three times mentioned was Browning's teacher of music, who was a learned contrapuntist. The poem maintains that music interprets the soul as nothing else does, and that the old simple music is best adapted to this end.

For information about Avison see Hawkins' *History of Music; Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 78, 1808; and Leslie

Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography*. The third volume of *The Browning Society's Papers* gives an account of the monument erected to his memory in 1890. For interpretations of the poem see *Browning Society's Papers*, part nine, and Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*.

Charles I. In *Strafford*, he permits through weakness the death of his truest friend; appears in second and fourth acts.

Cherries. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

Mushtari is the Persian name of the planet Jupiter. The ancient planet worship is implied in some of the allusions of this poem.

Chiappino. The ambitious schemer in *A Soul's Tragedy*, who seeks to overthrow the Provost of Faenza and to become the ruler of the city in his place. He betrays his friend Luitolfo, shows himself a treacherous schemer, and is obliged to leave the city in the end.

Childe Roland to the Dark Tower came. *Men and Women*, 1855; *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868. The poem was written at Paris, January 3, 1852, in one day.

In the title to this poem the author refers his readers to Edgar's song in *Lear*. In this great drama Edgar pretends to be insane, his imagination is active but not under control, his fancy runs riot in his speech, and he introduces wild fantasies and grotesque images into his conversation. The unreal world of the insane man's fancy undoubtedly was the starting point of the poem; and the student who wishes to read it with true appreciation must study the character of Edgar before attempting to interpret *Childe Roland*. "The fould fiend who leads poor Tom through fire and through flame, and through ford and whirlpool, o'er bog and quagmire; that hath laid knives under his pillow, and halters in his pew; set ratsbane by his porridge; made him proud of heart to ride on a bay trotting horse over four-inched bridges, to course his own shadow for a traitor," is the prototype of that strange world of shadows, grim shapes and things of darkness in Browning's poem. At the end of his strange conversation with Lear and the Fool, before a hovel on the heath, while a storm is approaching, Edgar says:

> " Child Rowland to the dark tower came,
> His word was still, — Fie, foh, and fum,
> I smell the blood of a British man."

The intent and spirit of the poem are well indicated in its origin. It seems to have been written largely in the spirit of Edgar's conception of the unreal and fantastic world of his fancy during the period of his assumed insanity. In her *Handbook* Mrs. Orr says the poem is built up of picturesque impressions, which have separately or collectively produced themselves in the author's mind. She says these picturesque materials included a tower which Mr. Browning once saw in the Carrara Mountains, a painting which caught his eye years later in Paris, and the figure of a horse in the tapestry in his drawing-room — welded together in the remembrance of the line from *King Lear* which forms the heading of the poem. Corfe Castle has also been mentioned as having furnished suggestions for the poem. In an article describing a visit to the poet, Rev. John W. Chadwick speaks of this tapestry and Mr. Browning's comments on the poem : —

" Upon the lengthwise wall of the room, above the Italian furniture, sombre and richly carved, was a long, wide band of tapestry, on which I thought I recognized the miserable horse of Childe Roland's pilgrimage : —

> ' One stiff blind horse, his every bone a-stare,
> Stood stupefied, however he came there :
> Thrust out past service from the devil's stud ! '

I asked Mr. Browning if the beast of the tapestry was the beast of the poem ; and he said yes, and descanted somewhat on his lean monstrosity. But only a Browning could have evolved the stanzas of the poem from the woven image. I further asked him if he had said that he only wrote *Childe Roland* for its realistic imagery, without any moral purpose, — a notion to which Mrs. Sutherland Orr has given currency ; and he protested that he never had. When I asked him if constancy to an ideal — ' He that endureth to the end shall be saved ' — was not a sufficient understanding of the central purpose of the poem, he said, ' Yes, just about that.' "

" Childe " is a title of honor, about tantamount to " lord," says Brewer.

In *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. 45, 1890, Mrs. Bloomfield-Moore gives an account of a conversation with Browning as to the meaning of the poem. He said to her that it was "only a fantasy," that he had written it because it pleased his fancy.

No poem of Browning's has given origin to more of discussion, and a greater variety of opinions, than this one. It is evidently one of the most obscure of his poems as to any meaning it may have, and this has led to the most divergent conceptions of its purpose. One class of interpreters have seen in it simply a realistic effort of the fancy, without ethical intent of any kind. Another class find it an allegory of life, and full of the subtlest spirit of ideal interpretation. The latter tendency has perhaps been carried to its extreme in Mr. Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts.*

John Esten Cooke understood the Dark Tower to be that of Unfaith, and the obscure land that of Doubt. Others have defined the Dark Tower, as Truth, Love, Life, Death; and they have elaborated the whole poem from this point of view, and made it as artificial an allegory as that of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* One of the most suggestive of these interpretations was contributed by an anonymous writer to *The Critic*, in 1886. "The Dark Tower is Death," says this writer, "and atheism is the unnatural crime by which the soul denies its Maker. Let us read the poem by this light. The knight, who is inspired by the highest ideal of fealty, is met upon the threshold of life by the doubts and skepticism of the age, and finds relief when his doubts are settled and he finally accepts atheism; but, even at the outset, he sees that such a creed is a kind of life in death, and that it does not offer any true solution. The personification of the Nineteenth Century — a bowed old man, time-worn, cynical — taunts while it invites him, and the skull grins already in mockery. So long as he was in doubt the ground was still fertile, his feet were set in a path, the heights were still above him; but from the moment he enters upon the trackless plain all nature becomes arid; there are no longer any heights to scale. Pure instinct could never have brought him here. When he meets the horse he feels it to be a monstrosity, for all living crea-

tures must by their instincts shun negation. Fain would he return to the influences of the past, but the moral failures of those whom he has known deter him. The fallacy of this reasoning is shown at once. He crosses a stream of water — water the emblem of life — but it is poisoned, and has no life-giving properties. It makes no choice between good and evil; the graybeard and the newborn babe are alike drowned in the poisonous flood. The waters of the river of faith have life-giving properties; the waters of this stream kill all life. Even invention and the instrument of torture stand idle. There is no function for a reward and punishment if there is no God and no future life. On this trackless plain there are no footsteps even, only the impress upon the earth of the struggles of lost souls. As he approaches the Dark Tower he expects to encounter birds of night, 'a howlet or a bat.' Not so; the emblem of darkness which comes to meet him, with broad, outstretched wings, dragon-penned, is no living bird, but a mythical creature, an emblem of the darkness of unfaith, not of the peace of night. Over the path which he has abandoned there may be a white dove flying, with the light of dawn on its wings. He begins to see it now. Three times he uses the word 'fool.' The Dark Tower is blind as the fool's heart. That is, the grave is to the atheist like the fool's heart blind and dark, because it denies God. He thinks that he is facing death, or the Dark Tower, in the most candid manner, without blind superstition; but although there are heights and sounds and light about him, at this supreme moment, he has blinded himself to them all. Browning's marvelous characterization is now revealed. As in the *Return of the Druses*, Djabal fails, through inheritance and subtle, complex influences, to attain to his ideal, so Childe Roland embodies those peculiar, distinctive qualities of the Nineteenth Century — high moral courage, unswerving fealty to conviction; and knowing there is to be no more of him, believing that life is a vanity of vanities, and he only the framework of a picture, to pass away forever in a moment, he blew on the slug-horn; and so — Childe Roland to the Dark Tower came."

Mr. Arlo Bates thinks the poem is not allegorical, but that it is an imaginative creation without special meaning,

except that it sets forth the value of an ideal. He says that imaginative poetry, or poetry of the highest order, does something more than to say prettily and gracefully and agreeably what might just as well have been said in prose. "Its *raison d'être* is that it has a message of which it is at once the substance and the vehicle; it is the only form possible for the poetical thought, for it is the form which that thought has spontaneously produced; and labor is lost in trying by paraphrase and elaboration to elucidate, express or explain what the poet has said, not alone in the best, but in the only possible form. It would be idle, therefore, for any one, no matter how gifted, to attempt to set down in any words but those of the poem itself what is the intent of *Childe Roland;* and however interesting an allegorical interpretation may be, it must from the nature of the case be unsatisfactory.

"Yet it is sometimes possible to give a clew that helps another into the poet's mood; so, without meaning to analyze, to expound, and least of all to explain a poem from which I would fain keep my hands as reverently as from the Ark, I ask the poet's pardon for saying that to me *Childe Roland* is the most supreme expression of noble allegiance to an ideal — the most absolute faithfulness to a principle regardless of all else; perhaps I cannot better express what I mean than by saying the most thrilling crystallization of that most noble of human sentiments, of which a brilliant flower is the motto *Noblesse oblige*.

"Ineffable weariness — that state when the cripple's skull-like laugh ceased to irritate, that most profound condition of lassitude, when even trifles cannot vex — begins the poem; with glimpses behind of the long experience of one who has seen hope die, effort fade and — worst of all — enthusiasm waste, until even success seemed valueless. A state of exhaustion so utter that nothing but an end, even though it be a failure, could arouse even the phantom of a desire. Then negative objective desolation, so to say; dreariness around in landscape, starved foliage, and on up to the loathsome horse. Then subjective misery; a failure of the very memories which in sheer desperation the hero calls up to strengthen him in an hour whose awful numbness stupefies him. Then, when once more relief is sought outside, im-

pressions that are positively disheartening; a suggestion of conflicts that brings an overwhelming impression that all the powers of evil actively pervade this place; then — the Round Tower!

"What does it matter what the tower signifies — whether it be this, that or the other? If the poem means anything, it means, I am sure, everything in this line. The essential thing is that after a lifetime pledged to this — whatever the ideal may be — the opportunity has come after a cumulative series of disheartenments, and more than all amid an overwhelming sense that failure must be certain where so many have failed; where nature and unseen foes and the ghosts of all his baffled comrades stand watching for his destruction, where defeat is certain and its ignominy already cried aloud by the winds of heaven. And the sublime climax comes in the constancy of the hero: —

> 'In a sheet of flame
> I saw them and I knew them all. And yet
> Dauntless the slug-horn to my lips I set
> And blew.'

The nominal issue of the conflict is no matter, because the real issue is here; with the universe against him, with the realization of all this, dauntless he gives his challenge.

"The whole poem is a series of cumulative effects, of which the end is a fitting climax. One cannot read it without a tingling in every fibre of his being, and a stinging doubt whether in such a case he might not have been found wanting. I cannot conceive of anything more complete, more noble, more inspiring. Heaven forbid that any one should so mistake what I have written as to suppose I think I have explained *Childe Roland*. I have already said that I believe the meaning of the poem could be put in no other words than those of Mr. Browning; and what I have said does not even attempt to convey a hundredth part of what that glorious poem means to me."

For allegorical interpretations of the poem see *The Critic*, 5 : 201, April 24, 1886, *Mr. Browning's Great Puzzle*, by John Esten Cooke; also *The Critic*, 5 : 246, May 15, 1886. The Rev. J. Kirkman's paper before the Browning Society is of the same kind. He also attempts to show that

the poem grew out of the old *Ballad Romance of Childe Roland* as contained in R. Jamieson's *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*. This paper and the discussion which followed are interesting for their presentation of widely divergent interpretations. Mr. Bates' paper was published in *The Critic*, 5 : 231, May 8, 1886. Mr. Fotheringham regards the poem as "a romance of the soul." In Richard Grant White's *Selections* the poem is discussed briefly, in the introduction. *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 21*, gives an abstract of a paper by J. Kirkman, and a report of the discussion which followed.

Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day. A Poem. By Robert Browning. London: Chapman and Hall, 186, Strand, 1850. These words formed the title-page of the poem when it first appeared. In 1863 these other words were added to the title: "Florence, 1850." They give the year when the poem was written, as well as that of its publication. Pages, i.–iv., 1–142. Reprinted in *Works*, 1863, vol. iii.

What appear to be two poems the author evidently intended to have regarded as one, by the form of the title, and by the manner of their publication. They consider different phases of the same general subject. They also agree in being, with one or two exceptions, the only poems in which Browning has spoken in his own personality; this gives them a special emphasis and interest.

Christmas-Eve may be thus briefly outlined:

1. Conventional religion in the little chapel; sections i. to iii.

2. The religion of nature; sections iv. to vii.

3. Christ revealed to the soul through the supernatural; sections viii. and ix.

4. Christ as manifested at Rome, in a great ecclesiastical system; sections x. to xii.

5. Christ as interpreted by a rationalistic German professor; sections xiv. and xv.

6. The Poet's communion with his own mind on the nature of the Christ; sections xvi. to xix.

7. The Poet's own conception of the Christ; section xx.

8. Conclusion: Christ as the God of salvation; sections xxi. and xxii.

See Miss H. E. Hersey, who, in her edition of the poem, gives a brief introduction and notes. J. T. Nettleship, in his *Robert Browning: Essays and Thoughts*, gives a good interpretation of the poem. Also see *Prospective Review*, 6: 267; *Living Age*, 25: 403; *The Germ*, W. M. Rossetti, No. 4: 187; *Day of Rest*, George MacDonald, 1: 34.

A few slight changes were made in the edition of 1868, which are given by Miss Hersey in her notes.

Christopher Smart. *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, 1887.

Christopher Smart was born in Shipbourne, Kent, April 11, 1722. Through powerful friends he entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1739, and took his degree from Pembroke College in 1747. While in the university his habits were bad, and his career was marked by folly and extravagance. The letters of Gray mention him at this time. He wrote a drama, which was acted in the college hall; and he became proficient in English and Latin verse. He married a bookseller's daughter in 1753, and moved to London to live by his pen. He produced a satire called *The Hilliad*, versified the *Fables of Phædrus*, and became the editor of a monthly called *The Universal Visitor*. In this periodical Johnson wrote a few essays to help his friend. In 1763 Smart was in a mad-house, but as he was not violent he was soon released. He became very intemperate, misfortune followed him, he was shut up in the King's Bench prison for debt, and died there in 1770, after a short illness. Johnson said of his insanity: "I do not think he ought to be shut up. His infirmities are not noxious to society. He insists on people praying with him (also falling upon his knees and saying his prayers in the street, or in any other unusual place); and I 'd as lief pray with Kit Smart as any one else." Smart's poems were collected in 1753; and a more extended edition was published in two volumes in 1791.

His one true poem, the *Song to David*, written during the sane intervals of an attack of insanity brought on by his drunkenness and poverty, is the real subject of Browning's poem. It may be found in full in the earlier editions of Chambers' *Cyclopædia of English Literature* and in part in Ward's *English Poets*. The editor of the latter

work, Mr. T. H. Ward, says: "There is nothing like the *Song to David* in the eighteenth century; there is nothing out of which it might seem to have been developed. . . . There are few episodes in our literary history more interesting than this of the wretched bookseller's hack, with his mind thrown off its balance by drink and poverty, rising at the instant of his deepest distress to a pitch of poetic performance unimagined by himself at all other times, unimagined by all but one or two of his contemporaries, and so little appreciated by the public, that when an edition of his writings was called for it was sent into the world with this masterpiece omitted." Of this poem Mr. William Rossetti has said: "This wonderful poem of Smart's is the only great accomplished poem of the last century. The unaccomplished ones are Chatterton's — of course I mean earlier than Blake or Coleridge, and without reckoning so exceptional a genius as Burns. A masterpiece of rich imagery, exhaustive resources, and reverberant sound." The *Song to David* was first published in 1763 in separate form, and the Rev. R. Harvey republished it in 1819. Smart also made a literal prose translation of the poems of Horace, which is now published in Harper's *Classical Library*.

It is said that during Smart's confinement in the madhouse he was denied the use of writing materials, and that he was in the habit of writing his poetic thoughts with a nail or a key on the walls of his cell. In this way his *Song to David* was composed, according to this tradition. It is not very probable, however, that he could have written so long a poem in this manner, though a part of it may have been thus recorded. Written under these circumstances, it is remarkable that the poem is not morbid or in any way distempered.

Browning makes Smart give two quotations from his own poems. These seem to be from his five Seaton prize poems on *Various Attributes of the Supreme Being*. In one of these are the following lines: —

> "While here above their heads Leviathan,
> The terror and the glory of the main,
> His pastime takes with transport, proud to see
> The ocean's vast dominion all his own."

In another of these poems he speaks thus of the power of the Supreme Being: —

> "'T were but the echo of the parting breeze
> When Zephyr faints upon the lily's breast."

Here follows in full Smart's

SONG TO DAVID.

O thou, that sit'st upon a throne,
With harp of high, majestic tone,
To praise the King of kings:
And voice of heaven, ascending swell,
Which, while its deeper notes excel,
Clear as a clarion rings:

To bless each valley, grove, and coast,
And charm the cherubs to the post
Of gratitude in throngs;
To keep the days on Zion's Mount,
And send the year to his account,
With dances and with songs:

O servant of God's holiest charge,
The minister of praise at large,
Which thou mayst now receive;
From thy blest mansion hail and hear,
From topmost eminence appear
To this the wreath I weave.

Great, valiant, pious, good and clean,
Sublime, contemplative, serene,
Strong, constant, pleasant, wise!
Bright effluence of exceeding grace;
Best man! the swiftness and the race,
The peril and the prize!

Great — from the lustre of his crown,
From Samuel's horn, and God's renown,
Which is the people's voice;
For all the host, from rear to van,
Applauded and embraced the man —
The man of God's own choice.

Valiant — the word, and up he rose;
The fight — he triumphed o'er the foes
Whom God's just laws abhor;
And, armed in gallant faith, he took
Against the boaster, from the brook,
The weapons of the war.

Pious — magnificent and grand,
'T was he the famous temple planned,
(The seraph in his soul:)
Foremost to give the Lord his dues,
Foremost to bless the welcome news,
And foremost to condole.

Good — from Jehudah's genuine vein,
From God's best nature, good in grain,
His aspect and his heart:
To pity, to forgive, to save,
Witness En-gedi's conscious cave,
And Shimei's blunted dart.

Clean — if perpetual prayer be pure,
And love, which could itself inure
To fasting and to fear —
Clean in his gestures, hands, and feet,
To smite the lyre, the dance complete,
To play the sword and spear.

Sublime — invention ever young,
Of vast conception, towering tongue,
To God the eternal theme;
Notes from yon exaltations caught,
Unrivaled royalty of thought,
O'er meaner strains supreme.

Contemplative — on God to fix
His musings, and above the six
The Sabbath day he blest;
'T was then his thoughts self-conquest pruned,
And heavenly melancholy tuned,
To bless and bear the rest.

Serene — to sow the seeds of peace,
Remembering when he watched the fleece,
How sweetly Kidron purled —
To further knowledge, silence vice,
And plant perpetual paradise,
When God had calmed the world.

Strong — in the Lord, who could defy
Satan, and all his powers that lie
In sempiternal night;
And hell, and horror, and despair
Were as the lion and the bear
To his undaunted might.

Constant — in love to God, and Truth,
Age, manhood, infancy, and youth —
To Jonathan his friend

Constant, beyond the verge of death;
And Ziba, and Mephibosheth,
His endless fame attend.

Pleasant — and various as the year;
Man, soul, and angel without peer,
Priest, champion, sage, and boy;
In armor, or in ephod clad,
His pomp, his piety was glad;
Majestic was his joy.

Wise — in recovery from his fall,
Whence rose his eminence o'er all
Of all the most reviled;
The light of Israel in his ways,
Wise are his precepts, prayer and praise,
And counsel to his child.

His muse, bright angel of his verse,
Gives balm for all the thorns that pierce,
For all the pangs that rage;
Blest light, still gaining on the gloom,
The more than Michal of his bloom,
The Abishag of his age.

He sang of God — the mighty source
Of all things — the stupendous force
On which all strength depends;
From whose right arm, beneath whose eyes,
All period, power, and enterprise
Commences, reigns, and ends.

Angels — their ministry and need,
Which to and fro with blessings speed,
Or with their citterns wait;
Where Michael, with his millions, bows,
Where dwells the seraph and his spouse,
The cherub and her mate.

Of man — the semblance and effect
Of God and love — the saint elect
For infinite applause —
To rule the land, and briny broad,
To be laborious in his laud,
And heroes in his cause.

The world — the clustering spheres, he made,
The glorious light, the soothing shade,
Dale, champaign, grove, and hill;
The multitudinous abyss,
Where secrecy remains in bliss,
And wisdom hides her skill.

Trees, plants, and flowers — of virtuous root;
Gem yielding blossom, yielding fruit,
Choice gums and precious balm;
Bless ye the nosegay in the vale,
And with the sweetness of the gale
Enrich the thankful psalm.

Of fowl — e'en every beak and wing
Which cheer the winter, hail the spring,
That live in peace, or prey;
They that make music, or that mock,
The quail, the brave domestic cock,
The raven, swan, and jay.

Of fishes — every size and shape,
Which nature frames of light escape,
Devouring man to shun:
The shells are in the wealthy deep,
The shoals upon the surface leap,
And love the glancing sun.

Of beasts — the beaver plods his task;
While the sleek tigers roll and bask,
Nor yet the shades arouse;
Her cave the mining coney scoops;
Where o'er the mead the mountain stoops,
The kids exult and browse.

Of gems — their virtue and their price,
Which, hid in earth from man's device,
Their darts of lustre sheath;
The jasper of the master's stamp,
The topaz blazing like a lamp,
Among the mines beneath.

Blest was the tenderness he felt,
When to his graceful harp he knelt,
And did for audience call;
When Satan with his hand he quelled,
And in serene suspense he held
The frantic throes of Saul.

His furious foes no more maligned
As he such melody divined,
And sense and soul detained;
Now striking strong, now soothing soft,
He sent the godly sounds aloft,
Or in delight refrained.

When up to heaven his thoughts he piled,
From fervent lips fair Michal smiled,
As blush to blush she stood;

And chose herself the queen, and gave
Her utmost from her heart — "so brave,
And plays his hymns so good."

The pillars of the Lord are seven,
Which stand from earth to topmost heaven;
His wisdom drew the plan;
His Word accomplished the design,
From brightest gem to deepest mine,
From Christ enthroned to man.

Alpha, the cause of causes, first,
In station, fountain, whence the burst
Of light and blaze of day;
Whence bold attempt, and brave advance,
Have motion, life, and ordinance,
And heaven itself its stay.

Gamma supports the glorious arch
On which angelic legions march,
And is with sapphires paved;
Thence the fleet clouds are sent adrift,
And thence the painted folds that lift
The crimson veil are waved.

Eta with living sculpture breathes,
With verdant carvings, flowery wreaths
Of never-wasting bloom;
In strong relief his goodly base
All instruments of labor grace,
The trowel, spade, and loom.

Next Theta stands to the supreme —
Who formed in number, sign, and scheme,
The illustrious lights that are;
The one addressed his saffron robe,
And one, clad in a silver globe,
Held rule with every star.

Iota's tuned to choral hymns
Of those that fly, while he that swims
In thankful safety lurks;
And foot, and chapitre, and niche,
The various histories enrich
Of God's recorded works.

Sigma presents the social droves
With him that solitary roves,
And man of all the chief;
Fair on whose face, and stately frame,
Did God impress his hallowed name,
For ocular belief.

Omega! greatest and the best,
Stands sacred to the day of rest,
For gratitude and thought;
Which blessed the world upon his pole,
And gave the universe his goal,
And closed the infernal draught.

O David, scholar of the Lord!
Such is thy science, whence reward,
And infinite degree;
O strength, O sweetness, lasting ripe!
God's harp thy symbol, and thy type
The lion and the bee!

There is but One who ne'er rebelled,
But One by passion unimpelled,
By pleasures unenticed;
He from himself his semblance sent,
Grand object of his own content,
And saw the God in Christ.

Tell them, I Am, Jehovah said
To Moses; while earth heard in dread,
And, smitten to the heart,
At once above, beneath, around,
All nature, without voice or sound,
Replied, O Lord, Thou Art.

Thou art — to give and to confirm,
For each his talent and his term;
All flesh thy bounties share:
Thou shalt not call thy brother fool;
The porches of the Christian school
Are meekness, peace, and prayer.

Open and naked of offense,
Man 's made of mercy, soul, and sense:
God armed the snail and wilk;
Be good to him that pulls thy plough;
Due food and care, due rest allow
For her that yields thee milk.

Rise up before the hoary head,
And God's benign commandment dread,
Which says thou shalt not die,
"Not as I will, but as thou wilt,"
Prayed He, whose conscience knew no guilt;
With whose blessed pattern vie.

Use all thy passions! — love is thine,
And joy and jealousy divine;
Thine hope's eternal fort,

And care thy leisure to disturb,
With fear concupiscence to curb,
  And rapture to transport.

Act simply, as occasion asks;
Put mellow wine in seasoned casks;
  Till not with ass and bull;
Remember thy baptismal bond;
Keep from commixtures foul and fond,
  Nor work thy flax with wool.

Distribute; pay the Lord his tithe,
And make the widow's heart-strings blithe;
  Resort with those that weep;
As you from all and each expect,
For all and each thy love direct,
  And render as you reap.

The slander and its bearer spurn,
And propagating praise sojourn
  To make thy welcome last;
Turn from old Adam to the New:
By hope futurity pursue:
  Look upwards to the past.

Control thine eye, salute success,
Honor the wiser, happier bless,
  And for thy neighbor feel;
Grutch not of mammon and his leaven,
Work emulation up to heaven
  By knowledge and by zeal.

O David, highest in the list
Of worthies, on God's ways insist,
  The genuine word repeat!
Vain are the documents of men,
And vain the flourish of the pen
  That keeps the fool's conceit.

Praise above all — for praise prevails;
Heap up the measure, load the scales,
  And good to goodness add:
The generous soul her Saviour aids,
But peevish obloquy degrades;
  The Lord is great and glad.

For Adoration all the ranks
Of angels yield eternal thanks,
  And David in the midst;
With God's good poor, which, last and least
In man's esteem, thou to thy feast,
  O blessed bridegroom, bidst.

For Adoration seasons change
And order, truth, and beauty range,
  Adjust, attract, and fill:
The grass the polyanthus checks;
And polished porphyry reflects,
  By the descending rill.

Rich almonds color to the prime
For Adoration; tendrils climb,
  And fruit-trees pledge their gems;
And Ivis, with her gorgeous vest,
Builds for her eggs her cunning nest,
  And bell-flowers bow their stems.

With vinous syrup cedars spout;
From rocks pure honey gushing out,
  For Adoration springs:
All scenes of painting crowd the map
Of nature; to the mermaid's pap
  The scalëd infant clings.

The spotted ounce and playsome cubs
Run rustling 'mongst the flowering shrubs,
  And lizards feed the moss;
For Adoration beasts embark,
While waves upholding halcyon's ark
  No longer roar and toss.

While Israel sits beneath his fig,
With coral root and amber sprig
  The weaned adventurer sports;
Where to the palm the jasmine cleaves,
For Adoration 'mong the leaves
  The gale his peace reports.

Increasing days their reign exalt,
Nor in the pink and mottled vault
  The opposing spirits tilt;
And by the coasting reader spied,
The silverlings and crusions glide,
  For Adoration gilt.

For Adoration, ripening canes
And cocoa's purest milk detains
  The western pilgrim's staff;
Where rain in clasping boughs enclosed,
And vines with oranges disposed,
  Embower the social laugh.

Now labor his reward receives,
For Adoration counts his sheaves
  To peace, her bounteous prince;

The nect'rine his strong tint imbibes,
And apples of ten thousand tribes,
And quick peculiar quince.

The wealthy crops of whitening rice
'Mongst thyne woods and groves of spice,
For Adoration grow;
And, marshaled in the fencëd land,
The peaches and pomegranates stand,
Where wild carnations blow.

The laurels with the winter strive;
The crocus burnishes alive
Upon the snow-clad earth:
For Adoration myrtles stay
To keep the garden from dismay
And bless the sight from dearth.

The pheasant shows his pompous neck;
And ermine, jealous of a speck,
With fear eludes offense;
The sable, with his glossy pride,
For Adoration is descried,
Where frosts the wave condense.

The cheerful holly, pensive yew,
And holly thorn, their trim renew;
The squirrel hoards his nuts:
All creatures batten o'er their stores.
And careful nature all her doors
For Adoration shuts.

For Adoration, David's Psalms
Lift up the heart to deeds of alms;
And he, who kneels and chants,
Prevails his passions to control,
Finds meat and medicine to the soul,
Which for translation pants.

For Adoration, beyond match,
The scholar bullfinch aims to catch
The soft flute's ivory touch:
And, careless, on the hazel spray
The daring redbreast keeps at bay
The damsel's greedy clutch.

For Adoration, in the skies,
The Lord's philosopher espies
The dog, the ram, the rose;
The planets ring, Orion's sword;
Nor is his greatness less adored
In the vile worm that glows.

For Adoration, on the strings
The western breezes work their wings,
The captive ear to soothe —
Hark! 't is a voice — how still, and small —
That makes the cataracts to fall,
Or bids the sea be smooth!

For Adoration, incense comes
From bezoar, and Arabian gums,
And from the civet's fur:
But as for prayer, or e'er it faints,
Far better is the breath of saints
Than galbanum or myrrh.

For Adoration, from the down
From damsons to the anana's crown,
God sends to tempt the taste;
And while the luscious zest invites
The sense, that in the scene delights,
Commands desire be chaste.

For Adoration, all the paths
Of grace are open, all the baths
Of purity refresh;
And all the rays of glory beam
To deck the man of God's esteem,
Who triumphs o'er the flesh.

For Adoration, in the dome
Of Christ, the sparrows find a home,
And on his olives perch:
The swallow also dwells with thee,
O man of God's humility,
Within his Saviour's Church.

Sweet is the dew that falls betimes,
And drops upon the leafy limes;
Sweet Hermon's fragrant air:
Sweet is the lily's silver bell,
And sweet the wakeful tapers smell
That watch for early prayer.

Sweet the young nurse, with love intense,
Which smiles o'er sleeping innocence;
Sweet when the lost arrive:
Sweet the musician's ardor beats,
While his vague mind 's in quest of sweets,
The choicest flowers to hive.

Sweeter, in all the strains of love,
The language of thy turtle-dove,
Paired to thy swelling chord;

Sweeter, with every grace endued,
The glory of thy gratitude,
Respired unto the Lord.

Strong is the horse upon his speed;
Strong in pursuit the rapid glede.
Which makes at once his game:
Strong the tall ostrich on the ground;
Strong through the turbulent profound
Shoots xiphias to his aim.

Strong is the lion — like the coal
His eyeball — like a bastion's mole
His chest against the foes:
Strong the gier-eagle on his sail,
Strong against tide the enormous whale
Emerges as he goes.

But stronger still in earth and air,
And in the sea the man of prayer,
And far beneath the tide:
And in the seat to faith assigned,
Where ask is have, where seek is find,
Where knock is open wide.

Beauteous the fleet before the gale;
Beauteous the multitudes in mail,
Ranked arms, and crested heads;
Beauteous the garden's umbrage mild,
Walk, water, meditated wild,
And all the bloomy beds.

Beauteous the moon full on the lawn;
And beauteous where the veil's withdrawn,
The virgin to her spouse;
Beauteous the temple decked and filled,
When to the heaven of heavens they build
Their heart-directed vows.

Beauteous, yea beauteous more than these,
The Shepherd King upon his knees,
For his momentous trust;
With wish of infinite conceit,
For man, beast, mute, the small and great,
And prostrate dust to dust.

Precious the bounteous widow's mite;
And precious for extreme delight,
The largess from the churl:
Precious the ruby's blushing blaze,
And alba's blest imperial rays,
And pure cerulean pearl.

Precious the penitential tear;
And precious is the sigh sincere;
Acceptable to God:
And precious are the winning flowers,
In gladsome Israel's feast of bowers,
Bound on the hallowed sod.

More precious that diviner part
Of David, e'en the Lord's own heart,
Great, beautiful, and new:
In all things where it was intent,
In all extremes, in each event,
Proof — answering true to true.

Glorious the sun in mid career;
Glorious the assembled fires appear;
Glorious the comet's train:
Glorious the trumpet and alarm;
Glorious the Almighty's stretched-out arm;
Glorious the enraptured main:

Glorious the northern lights astream;
Glorious the song when God 's the theme;
Glorious the thunder's roar;
Glorious hosannah from the den;
Glorious the catholic amen;
Glorious the martyr's gore:

Glorious — more glorious is the crown
Of Him that brought salvation down,
By meekness called thy Son;
Thou that stupendous truth believed,
And now the matchless deed 's achieved,
Determined, Dared, and Done.

See Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*, and a paper by Arthur Symons in *The Browning Society's Papers*, number nine. A letter from William Rossetti will be found in *The Athenæum* for February 19, 1887.

Clara de Millefleurs. The woman in *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*, who forms an illicit connection with Léonce Miranda, the Parisian jeweler.

Claret. See *Nationality in Drinks*.

Cleon. *Men and Women*, 1855.

The motto of the poem is taken from Acts xvii. 28. The characters are imaginary, but the poem is historical in its spirit. Cleon, the poet and artist, as well as Protus, the Tyrant, are drawn with historical fidelity; they are typical of the period they represent.

See Mrs. Orr, Fotheringham, and Symons.

Clive. *Dramatic Idyls*, Second Series, 1880.

Robert Clive was born in Shropshire, England, in 1725. His youth was devoted to mischief. He went to India as a clerk in 1744, became a soldier, showed great courage and consummate skill as a military leader, and built up the English empire in India. He won the battle of Plassey in 1757; and he secured great wealth by means not strictly honest. In England he entered Parliament. His conduct in India was investigated in 1773, and he was acquitted. The opposition he met with, and his excessive use of opium, led to suicide in 1774. England owes to him her vast empire in India.

The story told by Browning is of a well authenticated character. It was first published in the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica* in a biography of Clive, written by Henry Beaufoy, from family papers and other similar sources of information. This was reproduced substantially in Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*. In Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, vol. i. p. 46, it is repeated and the above authorities referred to, the account being in these words: —

"Soon after his arrival at Fort St. David he was engaged in a duel with an officer, to whom he had lost some money at cards, but who, with his companion, was clearly proved to have played unfairly. Clive was not the only loser; but the others were terrified into payment by the threats of those who had won their money. This example had no effect on him; he persisted in refusing to pay, and was called out by one of them who deemed himself insulted by his conduct. They met without seconds; Clive fired, and missed his antagonist, who immediately came close up to him, and held the pistol to his head, desiring him to ask his life, with which he complied. The next demand was, to recant his assertions respecting unfair play. On compliance with this being refused, his opponent threatened to shoot him. 'Fire and be damned,' said the dauntless young man; 'I said you cheated; I say so still, and will never pay you.' The astonished officer threw away his pistol, saying Clive was mad. The latter received from his young companions many compliments for the spirit he had shown; but he not only declined coming forward against the officer with whom he had fought, but never afterwards spoke of

his behavior at the card-table. 'He has given me my life,' he said, 'and though I am resolved on never paying money which was unfairly won, or again associating with him, I shall never do him an injury.'"

Macaulay, in his essay on Lord Clive, which is based on Malcolm's work, mentions this incident as follows: "His personal courage, of which he had, while still a writer, given signal proof by a desperate duel with a military bully who was the terror of Fort St. David, speedily made him conspicuous even among hundreds of brave men." Colonel Molleson, the latest biographer of Clive, passes this incident by hastily in these words: "Stories have been handed down of the coolness and resolution he displayed at the pastime of card-playing; alike in unmasking a cheat, in putting down a bully, and in meeting good and bad fortune."

Mrs. Orr says the story, as told by Browning, was related to him, in 1846, by Mrs. Jameson, who had shortly before heard it at Lansdowne House, from Macaulay. Browning invented the "friend," and the repetition of the story, a week before the death of Clive.

Green's *History of the English People* gives a good view of the work of Clive in India. Beside Macaulay's, Malcolm's, and Molleson's, there are biographies by Caraccioli and Gleig. See Rolfe, in his *Select Poems*, where he gives a sketch of Clive's life, and notes on the poem.

Colombe of Ravestein. The duchess of Juliers and Cleves, in *Colombe's Birthday*, who holds her duchy under the Salic law. Her cousin, Prince Berthold, is the lawful duke. She is beloved by Valence, an advocate, whom she finally prefers to the prince, and the probable position of empress which would come with marrying the prince, who offers her his hand, but who does not love her. See Miss Burt's *Browning's Women* for a study of this character.

Colombe's Birthday. After giving an account of the stage production of *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, Mr. Edmund Gosse, in his paper on the early writings of Browning, now published in his *Personalia*, proceeds to say of the present drama: "Fired with the memory of so many plaudits, Mr. Browning set himself to the composition of another actable play, and this also had its little hour of

success, though not until many years afterward. *Colombe's Birthday*, which formed number six of *Bells and Pomegranates*, appeared in 1843. I have before me at the present moment a copy of the first edition, marked for acting by the author, who has written: 'I made the alterations in this copy to suit some — I forget what — projected stage representation; not that of Miss Faucit, which was carried into effect long afterward.' The stage directions are numerous and minute, showing the science which the dramatist had gained since he first essayed to put his creations on the boards. Some of the suggestions are characteristic enough. For instance, 'unless a very good Valence is found,' this extremely fine speech, perhaps the jewel of the play, is to be left out. In the present editions the verses run otherwise." Mr. Gosse refers to the speech of Valence in the fourth act, in which he describes Berthold to the Duchess.

Colombe's Birthday, when published in *Bells and Pomegranates*, was called: "A play, in five Acts. By Robert Browning, author of *Paracelsus*." It contained twenty-four pages, and was sold for one shilling. The dedication was dated March, 1844, and was to Barry Cornwall in the words retained in all editions. Reprinted in *Poetical Works* of 1863, second volume, among "Tragedies and Other Plays."

This drama was put upon the stage at the Haymarket Theatre, London, Monday evening, April 25, 1853. Miss Helen Faucit took the part of Colombe, and Barry Sullivan that of Valence. It was played for two weeks with success, Miss Faucit having chosen the play from a personal interest in it, and because of her appreciation of the character of Colombe. After outlining the action of the play *The Athenæum* said of it, and of its first performance: "Such is the refined action of this charming poem, rather than drama. Its movements, for the most part, occur in the chambers of the mind. Such themes are evidently not of the usual stage-sort, and will fail of attraction to all who insist on the ordinary dramatic motion and action. To the worn-out and wearied playgoer, who can turn for a moment out of the beaten path, nothing could well be more delicious. The involuntary tear was often felt upon the cheek. We feared

that on performance, this fine poem would scarcely be intelligible to a mixed audience. Miss Faucit, however, by her skill, made them perfectly understand it; and the applause came in the proper places. That the performance will become popular, it is not for the critic to determine, — but we can record its apparent perfect success on the first night." *The Examiner* said: "The applause was unmixed at the close of the play, and many passages as it proceeded had excited evident admiration and sympathy. If it remains on the stage longer than we have ventured to anticipate, we shall think all the better of the audiences of the Haymarket. Nor, if the great beauty of the contrast between the characters of Berthold and Valence could only have been better exhibited by the actors, should we have entertained so much doubt as we do of the probability of such a result." Another critic complained of the male actors, but praised the acting of Miss Faucit. "Through the finished delicacy of the details, the traces of great latent power are evident, which, while they help to elevate our impression of the character of Colombe, increase our admiration of the powers of the actress who so skillfully subordinates her genius to perfect harmony with the poet's idea. Her clear and melodious enunciation of the dialogue and delicate phases of emotion seem to discover a force and beauty in the poem which is not elsewhere apparent. The *mise en scène* is admirable. The scenery and adjuncts have been skillfully selected, and are executed in the best style." This play was given at the Howard Athenæum, Boston, February 16, 1854.

The Browning Society secured the performance of *Colombe's Birthday* in St. George's Hall, London, on Thursday evening, November 19, 1885, with Miss Alma Murray as Colombe. The accounts of the performance contained in *The Academy*, *The Athenæum*, and other journals, were reprinted in number seven of *The Browning Society's Papers*; 2 : 93*. In the Boston *Literary World*, for December 12, 1885, Miss A. M. F. Robinson (now Mrs. Dermestetter) said of the play: "*Colombe's Birthday* is charming on the boards, clearer, more direct in action, more picturesque, more full of delicate surprises than one imagines it in print. With a very little cutting it could be

made an excellent acting play, and the story is so simple and so touching, that even the playgoer might forgive it for being told in modern poetry."

Rolfe includes *Colombe's Birthday* in his annotated dramas of Browning, and he gives several pages of selected critical comments, as well as extended notes. Miss Burt's *Browning's Women* discusses Colombe in the chapter on "magnanimous women." Mr. F. M. Holland puts the play into a prose story in his *Stories from Robert Browning*. The sixth number of *The Browning Society's Papers* contains a study of the avowal of Valence, by Mr. Leonard S. Outram; 2 : 87.

Confessional, The. Published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. It was there printed as II. under the general title of *France and Spain*. *Poems*, 1849, under its own title; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

This poem is historical only in the sense that it correctly interprets the period of the Inquisition in Spain. A young girl wrings from her lover his secret knowledge, that is injurious to the Church; and she does this at the instigation of her confessor, who has assured her that her lover will be purged of evil by her prayers and fastings. She is then thrown into prison, after being put upon the rack; when she sees her lover again he is on the scaffold. As she watches his execution from her prison she speaks her condemnation of the methods by which she has been deceived, and of the religion which could lead men to such deeds. This is a true historical picture of the manner in which the confessional was used to aid the Inquisition.

Confessions. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

See Corson for a brief interpretation.

Constance. The cousin of the Queen in *In a Balcony*, and the beloved of Norbert. She advises her lover to wait rather than ask of the Queen, who is a hard, selfish woman, the hand of her he loves. The Queen supposes that Norbert's devotion is wholly from interest in herself, and proposes to marry him, for she has grown to love him. When she knows the truth the lovers tremble at her terrible anger; but they await the future secure in each other's affection. See essay on Miss Alma Murray's Constance, in *The Browning Society's Papers*; 2 : 33*.

Corregidor. In *How it Strikes a Contemporary*, the poet who goes about seeing everything that is done and sending report of it to "our Lord the King."

Count Gismond. Aix in Provence. First published in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842. It there appeared with the title *France*, being the second poem under the general title of *Italy and France*, *My Last Duchess* being the first, and representing *Italy*. In 1863 it was put among the *Romances* with the present title, and in 1868 it was classed with the *Dramatic Romances*.

In his *Living Authors of England*, Thomas Powell tells the story of this poem as follows: "An orphan girl is brought up by an uncle whose two daughters are envious of their cousin's beauty and accomplishments; their jealousy reaches such a pitch that it prompts them to urge the betrothed knight of one of them to accuse the beautiful orphan of unchastity. They select the morning of the day when the object of their hatred is to be crowned Queen of the May. The knight accuses her, as prompted by the cousins; another knight, who secretly loved the beautiful orphan, gives him the lie; they fight; the traducer is killed — confessing, ere he dies, the plot, and the rescued beauty rewards the noble champion with her hand. When she is relating this, she has been a happy wife and mother for some years. The scene is laid in France." The story is wholly imaginary, but it gives an admirable picture of the times of chivalry. Mr. Symons says "the mediæval temper of entire confidence in the ordeal by duel has never been better rendered."

Miss Burt, in *Browning's Women*, chapter on "complexity of character," gives a careful study of the poem.

Count Guido Franceschini. The husband of Pompilia in *The Ring and the Book*, who married her for money, persecuted her cruelly, and when she escaped from him with the aid of Caponsacchi, murdered her and her parents. His trial forms the subject of the poem. His defense of himself forms the fifth book of the poem, and his confession after his sentence to death the eleventh book.

Cristina. First printed in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842, as II. under

the general title of *Queen-Worship. Poems*, 1842, by itself; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

The Cristina of this poem is Christina Maria, daughter of Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies. She was born in 1806; was married, in 1829, to Ferdinand VII., King of Spain; became Regent in 1833, on the death of the King; and in 1843 her daughter ascended the throne as Isabel II. Her life was given to intrigue, and to the use of tyrannical power. She was hated by those she ruled, and despised by them because of her personal character.

Lord Malmesbury, in his *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, gives this account of Christina, before her marriage to Ferdinand: —

"Mr. Hill presented me at Court before I left Naples [in 1829]. . . . The Queen [Maria Isabella, second wife of Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies] and the young and handsome Princess Christina, afterwards Queen of Spain, were present. The latter was said at the time to be the cause of more than one inflammable victim languishing in prison for having too openly admired this royal coquette, whose manners with men foretold her future life after her marriage to old Ferdinand. When she came up to me in the circle, walking behind her mother, she stopped, and took hold of one of the buttons of my uniform, to see, as she said, the inscription upon it, the Queen indignantly calling to her to come on."

The poem is based on the fact that a young man who loved Cristina, and with whom she played the part of the coquette, became insane because of her heartless treatment of him.

See Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*, for a study of the poem.

Cristina and Monaldeschi. *Jocoseria*, 1883.

The subjects of this poem are Queen Christina of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, and her master of horse. She was born in 1626, was highly educated, succeeded her father on the throne in 1632, under the regency of Oxenstiern, assumed royal power in 1644, concluded the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, abdicated in favor of her cousin, Charles Augustus, in 1650, soon after embraced the Catholic faith, and spent the rest of her life in Rome, where she died

in 1689. She had great learning, her tastes and habits were extravagant, and she was one of the most famous persons of her time. During her second visit to France, in 1657, she caused the death of the Marquis Monaldeschi, her grand equerry. She was given apartments at the palace of Fontainebleau, thirty-seven miles from Paris, up the Seine, or to the southeast; and here the murder of the marquis took place. She charged Monaldeschi with treason, but he had no trial, and was brutally stabbed to death. Her act was severely condemned at the time, and it has ever since been regarded as a dark stain on her memory. Monaldeschi is described as being greedy, selfish, ungrateful, false, and dishonorable. He was a bitter enemy of Sentinelli, also in the queen's service; and this man he tried to betray and have condemned to death. It was Sentinelli who commanded the soldiers who murdered Monaldeschi; but he went to the queen and plead for his enemy's life. Monaldeschi asked that he might be banished from Europe, but this the Queen refused. When the Queen heard that Monaldeschi would not finish his confession, she said, "The coward! wound him, and thus force him to confess." Her own account of the affair, as published by her court, is in part as follows: —

"The Queen of Sweden had conceived some suspicion of the Marquis Monaldeschi, her Grand Equerry, and this was confirmed daily by various proofs she had of his treachery. Watching all his actions, and the letters written to him, she discovered that he was betraying her interests, and by a double perfidy was scheming to fix upon an innocent man, also an officer of the Queen's, the crime of which he alone was guilty. The Queen made pretense of believing that the treachery came from that other, and assured the Marquis she had no doubts of himself, in order the better to discover all. The Marquis thinking he had succeeded in his object, said one day to the Queen: 'Madam, Your Majesty is betrayed, and the betrayer is the absent one known to Your Majesty and me; and it can be no other. Your Majesty will soon find out who it is; I beg her not to pardon him.' The Queen said, 'What does the man deserve who betrays me?' The Marquis said: 'Your Majesty should put him to death at once, and I offer myself to be

executioner or victim, for 't is an act of justice.' 'Good,' replied the Queen, 'remember your words; as for me I promise you I will not pardon him.' Meanwhile she had sealed up the intercepted letters, which she placed in the hands of the Prior of the Maturins at Fontainebleau, in order to present them to the Marquis, when it should be time. He on his side, considering that several posts had passed without his receiving any letters, began to feel some distrust, and endeavored to find at Lyons another surer correspondent; showing further by different actions that he was thinking of flight. Therefore the Queen, wishing to forestall him, on the 10th November had him summoned to the Galerie des Cerfs according to custom. The Marquis was long in coming; he did so at length trembling, pale, out of countenance, and quite another man, just as the Court had remarked him for the last few days with surprise. The Queen addressed to him at first some indifferent observations. Meanwhile she had ordered the Prior to come to the gallery, into which he entered by a door that was immediately closed, and the Captain of her Guards came in by another. The Queen then changed her talk, and having caused the Prior to give back the letters, she showed them to the Marquis, and reproached him with his enormous crime and his horrible treachery; she caused also all the papers he had on him to be taken from his pockets, among which she found two counterfeit letters, one addressed to the Queen, the other to the Marquis himself, whereby she discovered a new treason against her, still blacker than the preceding, of which he wished to make use in order to confirm the bad impression he had attempted to give her against his enemy."

Father le Bel, prior of the Maturins, as an eye-witness, told how the marquis was put to death. He went to the gallery carrying the letters given him by the queen, who took them out of the package and showed them to the Marquis, who said they were copies. Then she drew out the genuine letters, which he finally confessed were his. He laid the blame on other persons, but finally threw himself at the queen's feet, asking pardon. At this point the three guards drew their swords, which were not returned until the marquis was dead. "But before this consumma-

tion he got up, and drawing the Queen now into one corner of the gallery, now into another, begged her unceasingly to listen to his justification. This she did not refuse, but listened to him with great patience and moderation, without showing by the slightest sign that his importunity was displeasing to her. . . . This conference having lasted for more than an hour, and the Marquis not satisfying the Queen, she approached the Prior, and said to him, in a loud but solemn and measured voice, 'Father, I leave this man in your hands; prepare him for death, and have care for his soul!' At these words the Prior, as terrified as if the sentence was against himself, threw himself at her feet, as well as the Marquis, to ask his pardon. She said she could not grant it. . . .

"She then went away, leaving the Prior with the three men, with their swords bared, ready to kill him. When she had left them, the Marquis cast himself at the feet of the Prior, whom he implored to go and beg for his pardon; but the three men pressed him to confess himself, holding their swords against his body, though without wounding him. The Prior, with tears in his eyes, exhorted him to ask pardon of God. The chief of the three went to find the Queen, to implore her mercy for the poor Marquis; but he came back again very sad, and said, weeping, 'Marquis, think upon God and your soul, you must die.' The Marquis, beside himself, threw himself for the second time at the Prior's feet, pressing him to go yet again and ask his pardon from the Queen. He did so, and finding the Queen in her room, her countenance calm and unmoved, he prostrated himself at her feet; his eyes bathed with tears, his voice choked with sobs, he abjured her, by the passions and wounds of the Saviour, to have mercy upon the Marquis. She told him how sorry she was not to be able to grant his request. . . . She confined her wrath to the enormity of his crime and his treachery, which were without parallel, and affected all the world: further, the King was not lodging her as a prisoner, or an exile; she was mistress of her own will, and could do justice to her officers, everywhere and always; that she had to answer for her action to God alone, adding that the deed was not without precedent. . . . 'I will let the King know of it; return and have a care of his

soul, — I cannot in conscience do what you ask ;' and so sent him away. The Prior remarked by the change of tone with which she pronounced the last words, that if she could have gone back and changed the state of affairs she undoubtedly would have done so, but having gone too far, she could no longer draw back without placing herself in peril of her life, had the Marquis escaped.

"In this extremity the Prior knew not what to do ; he could not go away, and even though he could, the duty of charity and his own conscience compelled him to prepare the Marquis for an edifying death. Accordingly he went back to the gallery, and embracing the poor wretch, whom he bathed with his tears, he exhorted him, in the most energetic and pathetic terms with which God inspired him, to compose himself for death, and bethink himself of his conscience, since there was no further hope of life for him. . . . At this sorrowful news, after two or three loud shrieks, he knelt at the feet of the Confessor ; . . . the Almoner of the Queen arrived ; . . . the Marquis perceiving him, without waiting for absolution, went to him ; . . . they spoke together for a long time in a low voice ; the Almoner went out, and took with him the chief of the three commissioned to execute him. Shortly afterwards, the chief returned alone, and said to him, 'Marquis, ask pardon of God, for without any further delay you must die ; have you confessed ?' And so saying, he forced him against the wall . . . and gave him a stab in the stomach. The Marquis, wishing to guard it, seized the sword in his right hand ; the other, in drawing it back, cut off three fingers of his hand, and finding his sword blunted, he said to a companion that the Marquis was armed underneath, and in fact he had a coat of mail weighing nine or ten pounds on. He then gave him another stroke in the face, at which the Marquis cried out, 'Father' ; the Confessor drew near him, and the others stood aside ; . . . this received, he threw himself on the floor, and as he fell one of them gave him a blow on the top of the head ; . . . as he lay on his stomach he made signs for them to cut his head off. . . . Thus the Marquis ended his life at a quarter to four in the afternoon. . . . The Queen, assured of the Marquis' death, expressed her regret at having been obliged to order this execution of the

Marquis, but that it concerned justice to punish him for his crime and treachery, which she prayed God to forgive him. She bade the Confessor to be careful and take him away and bury him; she sent two hundred livres to the convent, to pray God for the repose of the said Marquis' soul."

The historical accounts of the death of Monaldeschi give no hint that he was the lover of the queen; but the gossips and memoir-writers of the time represent their relation to have been of this kind, and Browning has followed them faithfully. The Avon of the poem is a village on the east side of the Park at Fontainebleau, Monaldeschi being buried in its little church, and a marble put in the pavement to mark his grave. The name of the queen is usually spelled with an *h*, and not as Browning gives it.

The poem opens with a description of Francis I. and his favorite mistress, Diana of Poitiers. Francis ruled from 1515 to 1547, and was one of the most popular monarchs of the sixteenth century. He was the rival and the prisoner of Charles V., and he contested with Henry VIII. on "the field of the cloth of gold." His wars in Italy and with Spain were of great importance; while the latter part of his reign was marked by severe persecutions of the Protestants. He was frank, generous, and of good breeding, but passionate and a libertine.

"The chateau or palace of Fontainebleau," says Baedeker's *Paris and its Environs*, "situated on the southwest side of the town, is said to occupy the site of a fortified chateau founded by Louis VII., in 1162. It was Francis I., however, who converted the mediæval fortress into a palace of almost unparalleled extent and magnificence. The exterior is less imposing than that of some other contemporaneous edifices, as the building, with the exception of several pavilions, is only two stories in height; but the interior, which was decorated by French and Italian artists, is deservedly much admired. . . . The *Galerie de Diane*, or *de la Bibliothèque*, is a hall eighty-eight yards in length, constructed under Henri IV., and restored by Napoleon I. and Louis XVIII. It contains the library and a number of curiosities, including Monaldeschi's coat of mail. Under the Galerie de Diane is the old *Galerie des Cerfs*, which is now converted into a 'garde-meuble' and is not shown to visitors.

It was in this room in 1657 that Queen Christina caused Count Monaldeschi to be put to death after a pretended trial for treason. Louis XIV. expressed his strong disapprobation of this proceeding, but took no farther steps in the matter, and Christina continued to reside at Fontainebleau for two years longer."

Among other parts of the palace, which have special reference to Francis I., are the *Galerie d'Henri II.*, or *Salle des Fêtes*, which is a large hall. It contains the initial and emblem of Diane of Poitiers in frequent recurrence. The *Galerie de François I.* is another large hall. "It is embellished with fourteen large compositions by Rosso Rossi, representing allegorical and mythological scenes relating to the history and adventures of Francis I. The paintings are separated from each other by bas-reliefs, caryatides, trophies, and medallions. The winged salamander, being the king's heraldic emblem, and his initial F frequently recur."

F. W. Bain's *Christina, Queen of Sweden*, London, 1889, is an enthusiastic defense of the queen in regard to this affair, and written from the point of view of ardent admiration. It gives the best account of her life. An opposite, and in some respects more truthful, view is given in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1888, by Madame Vincent; translated in *The Living Age*, December, 1888.

Dance, yellows and whites and reds. First printed in a small book called the *New Amphion*, published for the Edinburgh University Union Fancy Fair, 1886, accompanied by an illustration. In 1887 published in *Parleyings with Certain People*, at the end of *Gerard de Lairesse*.

Daniel Bartoli, Parleyings with. *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, 1887.

Daniele Bartoli was born at Ferrara in 1608, became a Jesuit, was a leading preacher of that order, and in 1650 was commissioned by the Father-General to write a history of the order. This he did in several volumes treating very fully of its labors in both Asia and Europe. Its style is attractive, but it is filled with superstition and miracle. He also wrote several works on morality, on physical science, and on the Italian language. He was made the Rector of the Roman College in 1671, and he died at Rome in 1685.

Browning uses Bartoli and his credulity in regard to the miracles and saints of his Church as a means of showing that the true saints are not generally canonized, and that what they do and are have little comparison with Bartoli's unreal men and women. The poem is not devoted to a discussion of Bartoli or his teachings, but to giving an account of the saint in whom the poet believes. Mrs. Orr tells the story of this saint.

"Mr. Browning claims Don Bartoli's allegiance for a secular saint; a woman more divine in her non-miraculous virtues than some at least of those whom the Church has canonized, and whose existence has the merit of not being legendary. The saint in question was Marianne Pajot, daughter of the apothecary of Gaston, Duke of Orleans; and her story, as Browning relates it, a well-known episode in the lives of Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, and the Marquis de Lassay. Charles of Lorraine fell violently in love with Marianne Pajot, whom he met at the Luxembourg, when visiting Madame d'Orleans, his sister. She was so fair, so modest, so virtuous, and so witty that he did not hesitate to offer her his hand; and they were man and wife so far as legal formalities could make them, when the monarch, Louis XIV., intervened. Charles had by a recent treaty made Louis his heir. This threatened no obstacle to his union, since a clause in the marriage contract barred all claims to succession on the part of the children who might be born of it. But Madame resented the mésalliance; she joined her persuasions with those of the Minister le Tellier; and the latter persuaded the young King, not absolutely to prevent the marriage, but to turn it to account. A paper was drawn up pledging the Duke to fresh concessions, and the bride was challenged in the King's name to obtain his signature to it. On this condition she was to be recognized as Duchess with all the honors due to her rank; failing this, she was to be banished to a convent. The alternative was offered to her at the nuptial banquet, at which le Tellier had appeared — a carriage and military escort awaiting him outside. She emphatically declined taking part in so disgraceful a compact. Her reply was that if she possessed any influence over M. de Lorraine she would never use it to make him do anything so contrary to

his honor and to his interests; she already sufficiently reproached herself for the marriage to which his friendship for her had impelled him; and would rather be Marianne to the end of her days than become Duchess on such conditions. The reply has been necessarily modified in Mr. Browning's more poetic rendering of the scene. And after doing her best to allay the Duke's wrath (which was for the moment terrible), she calmly allowed the Minister to lead her away, leaving all the bystanders in tears. A few days later Marianne returned the jewels which Charles had given her, saying it was not suitable that she should keep them, since she had not the honor of being his wife. He seems to have resigned her without farther protest.

"De Lassay was much impressed by this occurrence, though at the time only ten years old. He too conceived an attachment for Marianne Pajot, and married her, being already a widower, at the age of twenty-three. Their union, dissolved a few years later by her death, was one of unclouded happiness on his part, of unmixed devotion on hers; and the moral dignity by which she had subjugated this somewhat weak and excitable nature was equally attested by the intensity of her husband's sorrow and by its transitoriness. The military and still more amorous adventures of the Marquis de Lassay make him a conspicuous figure in the annals of French court life. He is indirectly connected with our own through a somewhat pale and artificial passion for Sophia Dorothea, the young Princess of Hanover, whose husband became ultimately George I. Mr. Browning indicates the later as well as the earlier stages of de Lassay's career; he only follows that of the Duke of Lorraine into an imaginary though not impossible development. Charles had shown himself a being of a smaller spiritual stature than his intended wife; and it was only too likely, Mr. Browning thinks, that the diamonds which should have graced her neck soon sparkled on that of some venal beauty whose challenge to his admiration proceeded from the opposite pole of womanhood. Nevertheless he feels kindly towards him. The nobler love was not dishonored by the more ignoble fancy, since it could not be touched by it. Duke Charles was still faithful as a man may be."

See Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*, and a paper by Arthur Symons in *The Browning Society's Papers*, number nine.

Deaf and Dumb. A Group by Woolner. This poem was written in 1862 for Woolner's partly-draped group of Constance and Arthur, the deaf and dumb children of Sir Thomas Fairbairn, which was exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1862; but the lines did not appear in the Exhibition *Catalogue*. It was first published in the *Poetical Works* of 1868, volume vi., in the *Dramatis Personæ;* and it has retained the same place in subsequent editions.

Death in the Desert, A. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

The narrative of this poem is not historical, but some of the early legends about St. John were probably used by the poet. Cerinthus was a contemporary of John, according to Irenæus; but Eusebius places him a little later, early in the second century. He was educated in Egypt, taught in Asia Minor, and maintained Gnostic doctrines. He held that Jesus was the natural offspring of Joseph and Mary, that the Christ became incarnated in Jesus after his baptism, and that the world was created by a demiurge, not by God himself. The poem refers to some of these theories, and it also combats the teachings of Strauss, who wrote a rationalistic biography of Jesus, to prove that Jesus was a mere man, that John did not write the Gospel which bears his name, and that Christianity was largely an outgrowth from Neoplatonic and other similar tendencies. He tried to show the subjective origin of Christianity, that it did not have a supernatural origin, and that the miracles were either naturalistic, subjective or legendary in their nature. Browning writes this poem to combat these opinions, to maintain the truthfulness of Christianity, and its trustworthiness as a spiritual interpretation of life and the world.

In number nine of *The Browning Society's Papers*, 2 : 153, is an extended analysis and interpretation of the poem, by Mrs. M. G. Glazebrook. A good interpretation of the poem is given in Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*.

"De Gustibus—" *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

The speaker is a man, who first describes his friend's love of a rural English scene, and then his own love of a castle among the Apennines.

Development. *Asolando*, 1889.

This poem is autobiographical, giving an account of the manner in which Browning was taught by his father. Mr. Sharp says the father "was a man of exceptional powers. He was a poet, both in sentiment and expression, and he understood, as well as enjoyed, the excellent in art. He was a scholar, too, in a reputable fashion; not indifferent to what he had learnt in his youth, nor heedless of the high opinion generally entertained for the greatest writers of antiquity, but with a particular care himself for Horace and Anacreon. As his son once told a friend, 'The old gentleman's brain was a storehouse of literary and philosophical antiquities.'"

To Mrs. Corson, a week or two before his death, Browning said: "It would have been quite unpardonable in my case not to have done my best. My dear father put me in a condition most favorable for the best work I was capable of. He secured for me all the love and comfort that a literary man needs to do good work. It would have been shameful if I had not done my best to realize his expectations of me."

Philipp Karl *Buttmann*, 1764–1829, was a German scholar, famous for his Greek grammars and lexicography. Friedrich August *Wolf*, 1759–1824, a German scholar, first put forth, in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, the theory that the Homeric poems were not the work of one man, but the product of a number of writers of songs or rhapsodies, whose poems were finally combined into one work.

Dîs aliter Visum; or, Le Byron de nos Jours. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

Dr. Daniel G. Brinton thinks this poem is as dainty and delicate as any *vers de société*, and adds of the seventh verse: "I think when Browning wrote that he must have had in mind the passage from Jean Paul Richter which Alfred Musset places for motto to that blood-curdling piece of his called *Suzon*. 'Happy is he,' says Jean Paul, 'whose heart asks not save a heart, and who desires

neither an English park, nor an opera seria, nor the music of Mozart, nor a picture by Raphael, nor an eclipse of the moon, nor even light of moon, and neither scenes from a romance, nor yet their fulfillment!'"

The reference in the twelfth verse is to the forty members of the French Academy, and to the election of a new member whenever one of their number dies.

Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts* gives a suggestive interpretation.

Djabal. The young leader who claims to be the Hakeem in *The Return of the Druses*. He is a mystic and schemer who half believes in his own claim, but who finally fails, confesses to Anael, and stabs himself on her dead body.

Doctor ——— *Dramatic Idyls*, Second Series, 1880.

The story told in this poem is similar to one contained in Roquette's *Gevatter Tod*, in which a young doctor is befriended by Death, who shows himself at the head of the bed, when the patient is to die. The outcome of the story is different, however. Mrs. Orr says it is an old Hebrew legend, founded upon the saying that a bad wife is stronger than death. Professor Toy, Harvard University, sends the author this note: "I have heard of Browning's story of Death (Satan) and his wife, as a Jewish oral legend, apparrently invented as a commentary on Ecclesiastes 7 : 26. I know of no written form of the story."

Dominus Hyacinthus. The advocate for the poor, who, in *The Ring and the Book*, presents the case for Count Guido. His speech forms the eighth book of the poem.

Domizia. The noble Florentine lady, in *Luria*, who is loved by that leader of the army of Florence, and who advises him against vengeance when he finds that he is betrayed.

Donald. *Jocoseria*, 1883.

The story contained in this poem was told by Sir Walter Scott in *The Keepsake*, for 1832, an annual published by Longman, London. After a brief introduction, in which he suggests that the "singular incident" he relates is adapted for illustration, Scott tells his story in these words:

"The story is an old but not an ancient one: the actor

and sufferer was not a very aged man, when I heard the anecdote in my early youth. Duncan, for so I shall call him, had been engaged in the affair of 1746 [the invasion of England by Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the 'young Pretender' to the throne of England] with others of his clan; and was supposed by many to have been an accomplice, if not the principal actor in a certain tragic affair, which made much noise a good many years after the rebellion. I am content with indicating this, in order to give some idea of the man's character, which was bold, fierce, and enterprising. Traces of this natural disposition still remained on Duncan's very good features, and in his keen gray eye. But the limbs had become unable to serve the purposes and obey the dictates of his inclination. On the one side of his body he retained the proportions and firmness of an active mountaineer; on the other, he was a disabled cripple, scarce able to limp along the streets. The cause which reduced him to this state of infirmity was singular.

"Twenty years or more before I knew Duncan, he assisted his brothers in farming a large grazing [a pastoral farm] in the Highlands, comprehending an extensive range of mountain and forest land, morass, lake, and precipice. It chanced that a sheep or goat was missed from the flock, and Duncan, not satisfied with dispatching his shepherds in one direction, went himself in quest of the fugitive in another.

"In the course of his researches, he was induced to ascend a small and narrow path, leading to the top of a high precipice. Dangerous as it was at first, the road became doubly so as he advanced. It was not much more than two feet broad, so rugged and difficult, and, at the same time, so terrible, that it would have been impracticable to any but the light step and steady brain of a Highlander. The precipice on the right rose like a wall, and on the left sunk to a depth which it was giddy to look down upon, but Duncan passed cheerfully on, now whistled the Gathering of his clan, now taking heed to his footsteps, when the difficulties of the path peculiarly required caution.

"In this manner, he had more than half ascended the precipice, when in midway, and it might almost be said, in middle air, he encountered a buck of the red-deer species

coming down the cliff by the same path in an opposite direction. If Duncan had had a gun no rencontre could have been more agreeable, but as he had not this advantage over the denizen of the wilderness, the meeting was in the highest degree unwelcome. Neither party had the power of retreating, for the stag had not room to turn himself in the narrow path, and if Duncan had turned his back to go down he knew enough of the creature's habits to be certain that he would rush upon him while engaged in the difficulties of the retreat. They stood therefore perfectly still, and looked at each other in mutual embarrassment for some space.

"At length the deer, which was of the largest size, began to lower his formidable antlers, as they do when they are brought to bay, and are preparing to rush upon hound and huntsman. Duncan saw the danger of a conflict in which he must probably come by the worst, and, as a last resource, stretched himself on the little ledge of rock which he occupied, and thus awaited the resolution which the deer should take, not making the least motion for fear of alarming the wild and suspicious animal. They remained in this posture for three or four hours, in the midst of a rock which would have suited the pencil of Salvator, and which afforded barely room for the man and the stag, opposed to each other in this extraordinary manner.

"At length the buck seemed to take the resolution of passing over the obstacle which lay in his path, and with this purpose approached towards Duncan very slowly, and with excessive caution. When he came close to the Highlander he stooped his head down as if to examine him more closely, when the devil, or the untamable love of sport, peculiar to his country, began to overcome Duncan's fears. Seeing the animal proceed so gently, he totally forgot not only the dangers of his position, but the implicit compact which certainly might have been inferred from the circumstances of the situation. With one hand Duncan seized the deer's horn, whilst with the other he drew his dirk. But in the same instant the buck bounded over the precipice, carrying the Highlander along with him. They went thus down upwards of a hundred feet, and were found the next morning on the spot where they fell. Fortune, who does not always regard retributive justice in her dispensations, ordered that

the deer should fall undermost and be killed on the spot, while Duncan escaped with life, but with the fracture of a leg, an arm, and three ribs. In this state he was found lying on the carcass of the deer, and the injuries which he had received rendered him for the remainder of his life the cripple I have described. I never could approve of Duncan's conduct towards the deer in a moral point of view (although, as the man in the play said, he was my friend), but the temptation of a hart of grease, offering, as it were, his throat to the knife, would have subdued the virtue of almost any deer-stalker. I have given you the story exactly as I recollect it."

Mrs. Orr says this "is a true story, repeated to Mr. Browning by one who had heard it from its hero, the so-called Donald, himself." The fact that Browning had the story given him by word of mouth will explain the slight variations between his narrative and that by Scott.

Dramatic Idyls. Published in 1879, by Smith, Elder and Co., 15 Waterloo Place, London. Pages, i.–vi., 1–143. The contents of this First Series were as follows: Martin Relph; Pheidippides; Halbert and Hob; Ivàn Ivànovitch; Tray; Ned Bratts.

The Second Series, by the same publishers, 1880. Pages, i.–viii., 1–149. Contents: [Prologue]; Echetlos; Clive; Muléykeh; Pietro of Abano; Doctor ———; Pan and Luna; [Epilogue].

No changes have been made in these two series of poems, in order of arrangement or in titles.

See *Fortnightly Review*, Grant Allen, 32 : 149; *Contemporary Review*, Mrs. Orr, 35 : 289; *Fraser's Magazine*, 100 : 103; *St. James Magazine*, Thomas Bayne, 47 : 108; *The Academy*, Frank Wedmore, May 10, 1879; *The Athenæum*, July 10, 1880.

Dramatic Lyrics. This is the title given to the third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, published in 1842, which was prefaced by these words: —

ADVERTISEMENT.

Such poems as the following come properly enough, I suppose, under the title of "Dramatic Pieces"; being, though for the most part Lyric in expression, always Dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine. R. B.

Dramatic Lyrics contained the following poems: Cavalier Tunes: I. Marching Along. II. Give a Rouse. III. My Wife Gertrude; Italy and France: I. Italy. II. France; Camp and Cloister: I. Camp (French). II. Cloister (Spanish); In a Gondola; Artemis Prologizes; Waring: I. "What 's become of Waring?" II. "When I last saw Waring"; Queen-Worship: I. Rudel and the Lady of Tripoli. II. Cristina; Madhouse Cells: I. "There 's Heaven above." II. "The rain set early in to-night"; Through the Metidja to Abd-el-Kadr, 1842; The Pied Piper of Hamelin, a Child's Story.

In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 several other poems were added to these, and the entire collection, here called *Lyrics* simply, was as follows: Cavalier Tunes: I. Marching Along. II. Give a Rouse. III. Boot and Saddle; The Lost Leader; "How They brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix"; Through the Metidja to Abd-el-Kader; Nationality in Drinks: I. Claret. II. Tokay. III. Beer; Garden Fancies: I. The Flower's Name. II. Sibrandus Schafnaburgensis. III. Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister; The Laboratory; The Confessional; Cristina; The Lost Mistress; Earth's Immortalities; Meeting at Night; Parting at Morning; Song; A Woman's Last Word; Evelyn Hope; Love among the Ruins; A Lover's Quarrel; Up at a Villa — Down in the City; A Toccata of Galuppi's; Old Pictures in Florence; "De Gustibus —"; Home Thoughts, from Abroad; Home Thoughts, from the Sea; Saul; My Star; By the Fireside; Any Wife to Any Husband; Two in the Campagna; Misconceptions; A Serenade at the Villa; One Way of Love; Another Way of Love; A Pretty Woman; Respectability; Love in a Life; Life in a Love; In Three Days; In a Year; Women and Roses; Before; After; The Guardian-Angel — a Picture at Fano; Memorabilia; Popularity; Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha.

In the *Poetical Works* of 1868 this collection again received the title of *Dramatic Lyrics*. One or two minor changes were made in titles, but the order of the poems was the same. The edition of 1888 also showed one or two trifling changes in titles; these are mentioned under each poem.

Dramatic Romances. The seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845, was called *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*. The author's name was given as "Robert Browning, Author of *Paracelsus*." The price was two shillings. The dedication was to John Kenyon, and was dated "Nov. 1845." It contained the following poems: How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix (16—); Pictor Ignotus, Florence, 15—; Italy in England; England in Italy; The Lost Leader; The Lost Mistress; Home Thoughts, from Abroad: I. "Oh, to be in England." II. "Here 's to Nelson's Memory." III. "Nobly Cape St. Vincent"; The Tomb at St. Praxed's; Garden Fancies: I. The Flower's Name. II. Sibrandus Schafnaburgensis; France and Spain: I. The Laboratory (Ancien Régime). II. The Confessional; The Flight of the Duchess; Earth's Immortalities: I. "See, as the prettiest graves." II. "So, the year 's done with"; Song; The Boy and the Angel; Night and Morning: I. Night. II. Morning; Claret and Tokay: I. "My heart sunk with our claret-flask." II. "Up jumped Tokay on our table"; Saul (first part); Time's Revenges; The Glove (Peter Ronsard *loquitur*).

This number of *Bells and Pomegranates* was reviewed by Douglas Jerrold in his *Shilling Magazine*, in part as follows: "The poems published in this humble form seem to us the utterances of one of the few real poets of the age. . . . He has a soul of fire, and casts away every detail, every thought, that does not ministrate to the portrayal of the passion with which every line of his productions is fraught. This it is that makes his poetry so abrupt, so fragmentary, and to those whose suggestive powers are sluggish, obscure. These qualities, which are objected to by some persons as blemishes, we take to be proofs of the Poet's genuine inspiration. They display the terrible energy of his conceptions — the truth and earnestness of his visions."

In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 the poems contained in this collection, and in *Dramatic Lyrics*, as well as *Men and Women*, were redistributed, and a part of them classed under the title *Romances*, as follows: Incident of the French Camp; The Patriot — An Old Story; My Last Duchess — Ferrara; Count Gismond — Aix in Provence;

The Boy and the Angel; Instans Tyrannus; Mesmerism; The Glove; Time's Revenges; The Italian in England; The Englishman in Italy — Piano di Sorrento; In a Gondola; Waring; The Twins; A Light Woman; The Last Ride Together; The Pied Piper of Hamelin; a Child's Story; The Flight of the Duchess; A Grammarian's Funeral; Johannes Agricola in Meditation; The Heretic's Tragedy — A Middle-Age Interlude; Holy-Cross Day; Protus; The Statue and the Bust; Porphyria's Lover; "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came." The same order was preserved in the *Poetical Works* of 1868; but a few minor changes were made in the titles, which are noticed under each individual poem in the present volume.

Dramatis Personæ. This volume was published in 1864, by Chapman and Hall, 193 Piccadilly, London. Pages, i.–vi., 1–250. Contents as follows: James Lee; Gold Hair, a Legend of Pornic; The Worst of It; Dis Aliter Visum, or Le Byron de nos Jours; Too Late; Abt Vogler (after he has been extemporizing upon the Musical Instrument of his Invention); Rabbi ben Ezra; A Death in the Desert; Caliban upon Setebos, or Natural Theology in the Island; Confessions; May and Death; Prospice; Youth and Art; A Face; A Likeness; Mr. Sludge, "the Medium"; Apparent Failure; Epilogue.

This collection was reproduced in the *Poetical Works* of 1868, with two poems added, as follows: Deaf and Dumb, a Group by Woolner; Eurydice to Orpheus, a Picture by Leighton. No changes have been made in subsequent editions.

See *St. James Magazine*, 10 : 477; *Colburn's Magazine*, T. F. Wedmore, 133 : 186; *Dublin University Review*, 64 : 593; *Eclectic Review*, E. P. Hood, 7 : 62.

Dubiety. *Asolando*, 1889.

Eagle, The. The first poem in *Ferishtah's Fancies*.

A *dervish* is a Mohammedan religious mendicant, in Persia, India, or Turkey. The name signifies "the sill of the door," and refers to the fact that the members of the order beg from door to door as a means of livelihood. Some wander through the country, and others live in monasteries. The order is thought to have had its origin in Sufuism, the mystical form of Mohammedism. Their worship is essen-

tially mystical in its nature, consisting of prayers, dances, and frequent mortifications.

This poem is simply a versification of a fable drawn from *The Fables of Pilpay*, published in London, 1818. See *Ferishtah's Fancies* for an account of these fables. As contained in this book the fable reads as follows: —

"The Dervise, the Falcon, and the Raven.

"A certain Dervise used to relate, that in his youth once passing through a wood, and admiring the works of the great Author of nature, he spied a Falcon that held a piece of flesh in his beak; and hovering about a tree, tore the flesh in bits, and gave it to a young Raven that lay bald and featherless in its nest. The Dervise admiring the bounty of Providence, in a rapture of admiration cried out, 'Behold this poor bird, that is not able to seek out sustenance for himself, is not however forsaken of its Creator, who spreads the whole world like a table, where all creatures have their food provided for them! He extends his liberality so far, that the serpent finds wherewith to live upon the mountain of Gahen [a mountain in the East, famous for a vast number of venomous animals]. Why then am I so greedy, and wherefore do I run to the ends of the earth, and plough up the ocean for bread? Is it not better that I should henceforward confine myself in repose to some little corner, and abandon myself to fortune?' Upon this he retired to his cell, where, without putting himself to any farther trouble for anything in the world, he remained three days and three nights without victuals. At last, 'Servant of mind,' said the Creator to him in a dream, 'know thou that all things in this world have their causes: and though my providence can never be limited, my wisdom requires that men shall make use of the means that I have ordained them. If thou wouldst imitate any one of the birds thou hast seen to my glory, use the talents I have given thee, and imitate the Falcon that feeds the Raven, and not the Raven that lies a sluggard in his nest, and expects his food from another.' This example shows us, that we are not to lead idle and lazy lives upon the pretense of depending upon Providence."

Earth's Immortalities. Published in *Dramatic Ro-*

mances and Lyrics, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. The two poems appeared as I. and II., without the subtitles, which were added in 1888. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 this poem was classed among the *Lyrics*, which in 1868 became *Dramatic Lyrics*.

Echetlos. *Dramatic Idyls*, Second Series, 1880.

This poem is based on a legend given in Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, chapter thirty-two of the first book, which is devoted to Attica. Pausanias gives this account of the place where the battle of Marathon was fought: —

"The township of Marathon is about equidistant from Athens and Carystus in Eubœa. It was this part of Attica that the Persians landed at, and were defeated, and lost some of their ships as they were putting out to sea in retreat. And in the plain is the tomb of the Athenians, and on it are pillars with the names of the dead according to their tribes. And another for the Platæans of Bœotia and their slaves; for this was the first engagement in which slaves fought. And there is apart a monument to Miltiades the son of Cimon, whose death occurred afterwards, when he failed to capture Paros, and was on that account put on his trial by the Athenians. Here every night one may hear horses neighing and men fighting: those who come on purpose to see the sight suffer for their curiosity, but if they are there as spectators accidentally the wrath of the gods harms them not. And the people of Marathon highly honor those that fell in the battle, calling them heroes, as also they pay honors to Marathon (from whom the township gets its name) and Hercules, whom they say they first of all the Greeks worshiped as a god. And it chanced, as they say, in the battle that a man of rustic appearance and dress appeared, who slew many of the Persians with a ploughshare, and vanished after the fight: and when the Athenians made inquiry of the oracle, the god gave no other answer, but bade them honor the god Echetlæus. And a trophy of white stone was erected there."

The meaning of "Echetlos" is "wielder of the ploughshare." A picture of this hero was in the Pœcile at Athens. Browning contrasts him with Miltiades, who made war on Paros for his own personal gain; and Themistokles, who went over to the Persians.

Edith. The dead woman in *Too Late*, who is loved by the man who speaks but who is not her husband, though he has hoped that some day she might be his.

Eglamor. The defeated poet in *Sordello*, which see in this volume.

Elvire. The wife in *Fifine at the Fair*, who walks with her husband through Pornic fair, and listens to his discussions of the nature of the love between husband and wife, caused by his seeing the gypsy woman, Fifine, dancing.

Englishman in Italy, The. First published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. The title was *England in Italy* (*Piano di Sorrento*), which was changed to the present form in the *Poems* of 1849. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

See Mrs. Orr, who gives an unusually good interpretation of this poem. Mr. Symons says it is "the most entirely descriptive poem ever written by Mr. Browning."

Epilogue. *Asolando*, 1889.

In regard to the third verse of this poem the *Pall Mall Gazette* of February 1, 1890, related this incident: "One evening, just before his death-illness, the poet was reading this from a proof to his daughter-in-law and sister. He said: 'It almost looks like bragging to say this, and as if I ought to cancel it; but it 's the simple truth; and as it 's true, it shall stand.' All Browning was there — 'as it 's true it shall stand.' His faith knew no doubting. In all trouble, against all evil, he stood firm. And it is this buoyant trust and unfailing hope in him, and his wonderful power of instilling it into others, that constitutes his main hold on his admirers."

Epilogue. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

The first speaker interprets the Old Testament supernaturalism; the second speaker modern rationalism, while the third speaker, the poet himself, interprets the philosophic spiritualism which recognizes at once the immanence and the transcendence of God. See Mrs. Orr, Symons, and Fotheringham.

Epilogue. *Ferishtah's Fancies.* Written at Venice, December 1st, 1884, it sums up the thought of the entire

work. It refers to the heroes mentioned in the preceding poems, and by implication to all the world's heroes. It is a plea for heroic faith in the good of life, and in the love that will triumph over every obstacle in the realization of immortality.

Epistle, An. Containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician. *Men and Women*, 1855. Begun at Rome in the winter of 1853–1854, and completed at Florence.

This poem is based on the account of the raising of Lazarus contained in John xi. 1-46.

Snake-stone. A stone that would charm away the poison of a snake-bite. — *A spider that weaves no web.* Probably of the saltigrade species. "One often sees this species and its congeners upon the ledges of rocks, the edges of tombstones, the walls of buildings, and like situations, hunting their prey, which they secure by jumping upon them, very much as a cat or tiger would do." The expression, "take five and drop them," probably refers to the use of the spider as a medicine by physicians. The spider was thought to have an occult healing power applied either internally or externally. Pliny describes its use; and until recently the spider has been so employed. See *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 518. — *Greek fire.* Described in chapter lii. of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. "It would seem," he says, "that the principal ingredient was the naphtha, or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, inflammable oil, which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air." — *Blue-flowering borage.* Mentioned because of its stimulating medical properties.

See Corson's *Introduction*. Miss H. E. Hersey, in her edition of *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day, and other Poems*, gives brief notes.

Eulalia. The betrothed wife of Luitolfo, in *A Soul's Tragedy*.

Eurydice to Orpheus. A Picture by Leighton. This poem was first printed in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogue for 1864, but in the form of prose. It was printed with the author's name, and called "A Fragment." The first reprinting was in the *Selections* of 1865, where it bore the title, *Eurydice to Orpheus: a picture by Frederick Leighton, A. R. A. Poetical Works*, 1868.

Frequent mention is made of Orpheus by the classical writers, for he was one of the chief legendary characters of Greece and Rome. Plato mentions him in several of the dialogues. Ovid has something to say of him in the *Metamorphoses*, and he is spoken of by Virgil in the *Georgics*. He was described as a native, and the king, of Thrace; he was in the Argonautic expedition, and rendered it important service; he taught the Greeks religion, and established the mysteries; he founded civilization and social institutions, invented fables, and was expert in medicine. His wife was Eurydice, a nymph. She was bitten by a serpent and died. She was followed into the under-world by Orpheus, where his lyre, which had the power of drawing beasts, trees, and stones about him to listen to its magic tones, was made use of to work enchantment, for even the damned ceased from their torments while he played. His playing even wrought upon Pluto and Proserpine, until they promised to restore his wife to him, on condition that he should not look back upon her until they had passed outside the infernal regions. Orpheus did look back, and his wife was at once caught away from his sight. On his return to earth he mourned for Eurydice until the Thracian women tore him in pieces because of his excessive grief. The poet represents Eurydice as speaking the words which caused Orpheus to look back upon her.

Euthukles. The man of Phokis, the lover of Balaustion in *Balaustion's Adventure*, and her husband in *Aristophanes' Apology*. He follows her to Athens after she had saved her companions at Syracuse by her recital of *Alkestis;* they are married soon after; he describes the scenes following the presentation of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and then he accompanies her to her home at Rhodes.

Evelyn Hope. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

See Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*, for comments.

Face, A. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

The speaker is a painter, who is describing the beautiful face of the person to whom he is speaking.

Family, The. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

Shiraz (Sheeraz). A beautiful Persian city, the capital of the province of Fars, once splendid and prosperous, and

the home of Saadi and Hafiz. — *The Hakim*, or *Hakeem*. The Mohammedan Messiah.

Fears and Scruples. *Pacchiarotto, with Other Poems*, 1876.

In answer to a letter of inquiry, addressed to him by Mr. W. G. Kingsland, Browning wrote the following in regard to the meaning of this poem: "I think that the point I wanted to illustrate was this: Where there is a genuine love of the 'letters' and 'actions' of the invisible 'friend,' — however these may be disadvantaged by an inability to meet the objections to their authenticity or historical value urged by 'experts' who assume the privilege of learning over ignorance, — it would indeed be a wrong to the wisdom and goodness of the 'friend' if he were supposed capable of overlooking the actual 'love' and only considering the 'ignorance' which, failing to in any degree effect 'love,' is really the highest evidence that 'love' exists. So I *meant*, whether the result be clear or no."

Ferishtah's Fancies. Published by Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1884. Pages, i.–viii., 1–143. Contents: Prologue: I. The Eagle; II. The Melon-seller; III. Shah Abbas; IV. The Family; V. The Sun; VI. Mihrab Shah; VII. A Camel-Driver; VIII. Two Camels; IX. Cherries; X. Plot-Culture; XI. A Pillar at Sebzevar; XII. A Bean-Stripe, also Apple-Eating; Epilogue. Dated at the end of the epilogue: Palazzo Giustinian-Recanati, Venice; December 1, 1883.

This collection of poems was written under the influence of three Oriental books; the *Fables of Bidpai*, Firdusi's *Shah-Nameh*, and the book of Job. Mrs. Orr says the idea "grew out of a fable by Pilpay [Bidpai], which Mr. Browning read when a boy. He put this into verse; and it then occurred to him to make the poem the beginning of a series, in which the Dervish, who is first introduced as a learner, should reappear in the character of a teacher. Ferishtah's fancies are the familiar illustrations by which his teachings are enforced." This manner of treating the subject, and the general form of it, gives the book a resemblance to Jami's *Salámán and Absál*.

The opening poem of the series, that called *The Eagle*, is not drawn from any of the best English translations of

the *Fables of Bidpai*. The best translations are North's *Morall Philosophie of Doni*, 1579; Eastwick's, 1854; and *Kalilah and Dimnah; or, The Fables of Bidpai*, Keith-Falconer, 1885. In none of these does the fable of the Eagle and the Dervish appear; and it evidently must have been drawn from some of the many other connected fables. In fact, this particular fable does appear in a children's book called *The Fables of Pilpay*, London, 1818. In this translation, which is anonymous, only the short fables are given; but the introductory narratives, and the continuous story which binds together the fables, are omitted. This translation is wanting in every kind of critical skill, was probably taken from some modern European language, and carelessly or purposely included fables not belonging to Bidpai.

Mr. Joseph Jacobs, who has recently edited the earliest English translation of the *Fables of Bidpai*, that of North, says it is "the English version of an Italian adaptation of a Spanish translation of a Latin version of a Hebrew translation of an Arabic adaptation of the Pehlevi (Old Persian) version of the Indian original." This gives us an idea of the changes through which this work has passed, and of its wide-spread diffusion through all languages. Originally these fables were birth stories of Buddha, and their equivalents are found in the *Pantschatantra*, the *Hitopadesa*, the *Katha-sarrit-sagara*, and the *Mahabharata*, the most popular of the Buddhist books. Between 400 B. C. and 200 B. C. many of these stories were put together in a frame formed of the life and experience of Buddha. They were translated into Old Persian about 500 A. D., and took substantially the form they now have as the *Fables of Bidpai*. These are beast-fables, in which animals act as men; and they originated in the animism, or more especially the metempsychosis, of India.

Jacobs and Keith-Falconer give tables showing the remarkable diffusion of these fables, and their connection with all other fables, even with Æsop and Uncle Remus. They also give most fascinating accounts of the origin and growth of the Bidpai literature.

One feature of the Bidpai fables is their moral character, which has commended them to the believers in all the great

religions. Jacobs says this book "enjoys the unique distinction of having appealed to all the great religions of the world. Originated in Buddhism, it was adopted by Brahmanism, passed on by Zoroastrianism to Islam, which transmitted it to Christendom by the mediation of Jews." "Incredible as it may seem," says Jacobs again, "the *Fables* were translated in the first period of their spontaneous spread, not for the story-interest of them, but on account of their moral interest — their 'moral philosophy,' as the title of the Italian and English versions testifies. They were regarded as homilies, and the tales were only tolerated as so much jam to give relish to the morality. It is important to notice this aspect of the book, as it makes it still more remarkable that it should have been accepted as a sort of secular Bible, if we may so term it, by men of so many different religions. There must have been something essentially human in this Buddhist book that it should have been welcomed as a moral encheiridion by Zoroastrians, Moslems, Jews, and Christians. Perhaps we may account for this universal acceptance of its doctrines because they seemed to come from the mouths of those who could not be suspected of heresy — from our dumb brethren, the beasts."

Had Browning continued this series of poems as he began it, the resemblance to the *Fables of Bidpai* in outward form would have been very close. However, after the first poem, he dropped the element of fable and made his poems a series of philosophical discussions; and yet enough of the story element remains to bring Bidpai distinctly to mind. Ferishtah very much resembles Bidpai the philosopher, as he appears in the *Fables*. His character as a sage, and his manner of teaching, are quite similar.

Another feature of the book is that obtained from Firdusi's great epic poem of Persia, the *Shah Nameh*. The name Ferishtah is evidently itself Persian, and though it does not appear in the *Shah Nameh*, yet Ferishtah is the name of a Persian historian of the eighteenth century. No part of the machinery of *Ferishtah's Fancies* is taken from Firdusi, nor has Browning made use of any of the legends of the Persian epic. Yet it has frequent reference to the fabulous heroes, characters, and incidents in Firdusi.

Firdusi, whose name was Abu'l Casim Mansur, was born

about 941 A. D. and died in 1020. He brought together the legends of ancient Persia, and wrote a great epic poem, called the *Shah Nameh* or *Book of Kings*. This poem was edited by Jules de Mohl, and published by the French government; and the Persian was accompanied by a French translation. Madam Mohl edited a popular edition in 1876–77. No complete translation has ever been made into English. That of James Atkinson, now published in the series of *Chandos Classics*, is a translation of a Persian abridgment, and is in mixed prose and verse. Miss Helen Zimmern's *Heroic Tales* gives in an abbreviated form from the French some of the most interesting episodes. One of the most beautiful and pathetic of the episodes, the story of Rustem and Sohrab, was made the subject of a poem by Matthew Arnold.

Browning undoubtedly had the *Shah Nameh* in mind when he wrote *Ferishtah's Fancies*, for it shows a close intimacy with that poem. As Ferishtah is a Persian dervish, it is quite in keeping with his character that he should refer frequently to this great epic poem, which is known to every school-boy and peasant in Persia. Its legendary characters are known in that country as those of Homer are among us, and it is even more natural to refer to them, because of the associations with the national history and ideas. For descriptive and analytical studies of the *Shah Nameh*, see Miss Zimmern's introduction to her *Heroic Tales*, and Samuel Johnson's *Oriental Religions: Persia*.

Another element in *Ferishtah's Fancies* is that taken from the book of Job, though it does not equal that from the *Fables of Bidpai* or the *Shah Nameh*. Browning had evidently given some attention to the critical discussion of the origin of the book of Job, for he suggests that it is a Persian book. Scholars have often been of the opinion that Job is not distinctly Hebrew, but Arabic or Syriac in origin and in some of the characteristics of its teachings. Some of the teachings indicate that the author may have come in contact with the religion of Zoroaster, for while Job is a stern monotheist, he believes that God is opposed by an intriguing Adversary.

In a letter to a friend, written soon after this series of poems was published, Browning said: "I hope and believe

that one or two careful readings of the Poem will make its sense clear enough. Above all, pray allow for the Poet's inventiveness in any case, and do not suppose there is more than a thin disguise of a few Persian names and allusions. There was no such person as Ferishtah — the stories are all inventions. . . . The Hebrew quotations are put in for a purpose, as a direct acknowledgment that certain doctrines may be found in the Old Book, which the Concoctors of Novel Schemes of Morality put forth as discoveries of their own." The mottoes indicate the humorous and fictitiously Oriental manner of the poem.

See *The Athenæum*, Dec. 6, 1884; *Saturday Review*, 58 : 727; *The Spectator*, Dec. 6, 1884; *The Academy*, Dec. 13, 1884; *The Browning Society's Papers*, 2 : 245*.

Festus. The devoted friend of Paracelsus, in the poem of that name. He has faith in Paracelsus and admires him to the end. Michal is his wife, a true and faithful woman, loving and wisely advising the seeker for knowledge.

Fife, trump, drum, sound! The first words of the song with which *Parleyings with Certain People of Note in Their Day* ends. It was written for the music by Charles Avison, which accompanies it, p. 364, vol. vi. of Riverside edition of *Works*.

Fifine. The gypsy woman in *Fifine at the Fair*, whose physical beauty and gifts as a dancer led to the discussion between husband and wife which forms the poem.

Fifine at the Fair. Published in 1872, by Smith, Elder and Co., London. Pages, i.–xii., 1–171. The pages from i. to xii. consisted of a half-title, title, quotation from Molière's *Don Juan*, act i. scene 3, a translation of it into verse by Browning, and a prologue, entitled *Amphibian*. The poem closed with an epilogue, *The Householder*.

The quotation from Molière's comedy of *Don Juan, ou Le Festin de Pierre* or *Feast with the Statue*, is suggestive as to the purpose of the poem. See Henri van Laun's translation of Molière's *Dramatic Works*, and especially the introductory notice to this particular comedy. Don Juan has been a favorite character with the dramatists, and it originated in a Spanish legend of a Don Juan who ran away with the daughter of a venerable commander, whom he killed in a duel. A splendid tomb and statue were built

to the commander, which Don Juan insulted, and for this impiety was hurled to the infernal regions by some supernatural power. Several Spanish, Italian, French, and English dramatists have made use of this story, sometimes originally and sometimes copying from each other.

Van Laun's account of Molière's *Don Juan* will give some hints for the clearer understanding of Browning's poem, though the latter had no purpose of drawing from Molière or depicting another Don Juan. "This play," says Van Laun, "depicts the hero as a man who, rich, noble, powerful, and bold, respects neither heaven nor earth, and knows no bounds to the gratification of his desires or his passions. He has excellent manners, but abominable principles; he is a whited sepulcre, and abuses the privileges of nobility without acknowledging its obligations or its duties. Molière sketches no longer the nobleman as ridiculous [as had been done by some who had previously made use of Don Juan], but makes him terrible, and shows that his exaggerated hatred of cant leads to the commission of the greatest immoralities, and to atheism. After having seduced and abandoned many fair maids; after having insulted his father, and openly flaunted the most skeptical doctrines, Don Juan turns hypocrite; for hypocrisy is the climax of all vices. But although the hero of the play is young, elegant, and profligate, Molière makes us feel all the while that underneath the charming exterior lurks something venomous. No doubt he is witty, but too sarcastic to be pleasant. He is sensual, but less than is generally thought. He is not so much a libertine, as a man who loves to set all rules of decency, order, and morality at defiance. What attracts him is something eccentric, violent, and scandalous. He likes to seduce a nun, or an innocent country girl, who is already engaged; and this not through mere lust, but in order to prove that he can trample upon all human laws; just as he invites to supper the statue of a man whom he has killed, and plays the hypocrite in order to show his scorn for all divine laws. . . . But Molière has not made the hero coarse or ribald; his language is always well chosen; and although his morality may be offensive, his manners are never so. The style of his speech is generally masterly, often eloquent, and not seldom characteristic of his sneering, insolent, cruel, hypocritical feelings."

In Molière's comedy Don Juan has married Elvira, the daughter of a nobleman, and at the end of a month has deserted her; and he is planning the seduction of a young bride. Suddenly Elvira comes upon the scene, and in the conversation which follows, from which Browning quotes, Don Juan makes it known to his wife that he has deserted her. In that part of the conversation quoted, Don Juan exhibits doubt as to the course to pursue towards Elvira, and hesitates to declare to her the truth. Her admonition causes him to make known his abandonment of her; but he gives a wholly false reason for his act.

It is probable that Browning found suggestions for this poem in Byron's *Don Juan*, as well as in his *Childe Harold*, to this extent, at least, that, whereas Molière and Byron had drawn Don Juan as essentially bad, it seemed to him desirable to set forth one of another kind. In section sixty-seven he quotes from the fourth canto of Byron's *Childe Harold.*

Pornic is a small maritime town of France, situated directly on the ocean, at the bay of Bourgneuf, in the Department of the Lower Loire in Brittany; and is twenty-seven miles southwest of Nantes. Its baths and mineral springs are well known, and in the season are much frequented. It has a large traffic in building ships and fitting them out for cod-fishing. Public fairs are held every fifteenth of June, second of September, and fifteenth of December. The city itself is built on the side of a hill in the shape of an amphitheatre, and is very quaint and irregular.

Pornic formerly was burned and razed to the ground by the Vendean army of Charette. It is now divided into two parts: upper and lower Pornic, and the Sands. These two parts have communication with each other by means of vast staircases hewn out of the solid rock. The port itself is bounded by a large quay, from which juts out a mole which has recently been decorated with a statue of Admiral Leray. The old castle, built in the thirteenth century and formerly in ruins, has lately been completely restored. Among many other curiosities and features of interest to be seen in the neighborhood may be mentioned cromlechs and various Celtic monuments. It has also curious natural grottoes, hollowed out by the dashing of the waves, which are

known by the name of "The Chimneys," because when the sea is rough, the water spouts up with great force through a hole in the top, resembling the smoke from a chimney.

Matilda Betham-Edwards, in her *A Year in Western France*, gives the following description of Pornic: "A delicious little seaside resort, now crowded and fashionable, but forty years ago a handful of fishermen's huts only, is Pornic on the Bay of Biscay. Half Italian, half Algerian in aspect, with its intense blue sea, emerald hills, and tiny white town built terrace-wise above the small enclosed port, Pornic is a place in which even the tropical heats of French summers are bearable. Here are shady walks close to the sea, little groves of silvery poplar and acacia, and long winding walks along the rocks. I recollect nothing on a small scale prettier or more gracious than this little port of Pornic; and one July evening during my stay, with a silvery crescent moon, a sky of mingled amber, pearl, rose, and deep purple, as the fairy-like little fishing-boats glided out one by one into the open sea, the scene was enchanting. Beyond Pornic eastward are smooth stretches of golden corn, reaching down to the rocky shore; and when you have got to the edge of the cliffs, you can walk for miles between purslain hedges, having green hills on one side and on the other shelving brown rocks and the lake-like, captivating Southern sea.

"The glare of the July sun is terrible, in spite of the green trees and shadow-giving rocks here; but for all that Pornic is a delicious, friendly little place, with beautiful bits of luxuriant country close to the sea, and an intensity of color in the purple sea and emerald verdure quite Italian.

"Sea-bathing at Pornic is a sociable and amusing pastime. Friends, neighbors, and young people given to flirtation put on their coquettish bathing-dresses, and play about in the water in company. In spite of the intense heat, Pornic is as crowded as it can be during the season, though there seems to be no other attraction but the aforesaid constitutional sea-walks. In September and in October it must be delightful, though I believe few visit it then. An enterprising and philanthropic Frenchwoman, the popular author of some admirable works of science, has lately founded a popular library in Pornic — the first effort of the kind

ever heard of in these picturesque but outlandish and behindhand parts. The Pornic people have an amiable, indolent look, and would, I should say, take to innovations unkindly."

It seems to have been only a second thought which caused Browning to draw from *Don Juan* such suggestion as it gave him; and the primary motive came from his life at Pornic. According to Mrs. Orr, "Mr. Browning was, with his family, at Pornic many years ago, and there saw the gypsy who is the original of Fifine. His fancy was evidently sent roaming by her audacity, her strength, the contrast which she presented to the more spiritual types of womanhood; and this contrast eventually found expression in a poetic theory of life, in which these opposite types and their corresponding modes of attraction became the necessary complement of each other. As he laid down the theory Mr. Browning would be speaking in his own person. But he would turn into some one else in the act of working it out, for it insensibly carried with it a plea for yielding to those opposite attractions, not only successively, but at the same time, and a modified Don Juan would grow up under his pen, thinking in some degree his thoughts, using in some degree his language, and only standing out as a distinctive character at the end of the poem."

The gypsy woman evidently suggested to the poet a study of different types of womanhood, and their influence on man for good or evil. Then came the thought of a man like Don Juan, who should seek whatever help woman could give, not in the sensual manner of Don Juan, but in one refined and intellectual. In his study of the poem, Mr. J. T. Nettleship has given an outline of it, which is helpful as to its meaning and the successive experiences it interprets.

In paragraphs one to fourteen the speaker with his wife is walking through a fair at Pornic; and the strolling actors who exhibit before them suggest to him discourse on the charms and advantages of a Bohemian life.

Paragraphs fifteen to thirty-four discuss the different types of womanhood, beginning with Fifine, who suddenly appears before the speaker in all her physical perfection. He also shows how the spiritual beauty of Elvire is superior to the physical beauty of Fifine, and why it has a greater influence upon him.

Paragraphs thirty-five to forty-two indicate why he prefers his own wife to any other woman, even though others may for the moment attract and fascinate him. This devotion to the wife he compares to his possession of a great picture of Raphael, which he cares for with zeal even though he looks at a picture-book by Doré.

In paragraphs forty-three to fifty-three he shows why men and women have need of each other, to supplement unloveliness by love. The poet here gives his philosophy of the married union of man and woman, that the nature of each may be rounded and completed in the other.

In paragraphs fifty-four to fifty-nine the same thought is continued, but carried up to a study of the philosophy of life. The development of the soul by the means of love is the theme. Here he works out an artistic illustration, that of the creation of a beautiful statue, which exhibits life in its higher capacities. The legend of Eidothée, the daughter of Proteus, as told in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, is made use of to show how the soul may be brought out in the artistic attempt to unfold it and make it a perfect thing.

In paragraphs sixty to sixty-three he indicates what Fifine may be to him in this search for the purification and spiritual re-creation of the soul.

Paragraphs sixty-four to sixty-nine show how the sensual or the false may become a help in the soul's search for higher gain. This he illustrates by the swimmer, who is upborne by whatever he touches in the sea.

In paragraphs seventy to eighty-eight he brings out again his oft-repeated idea of the influence of woman in helping man to secure his soul's growth, that she is essential to this higher spiritual attainment. He also indicates that Fifine in this way helps him, simply because she is a type to him of the false and of the vain shows of the world.

In paragraphs eighty-nine to one hundred and twenty-six he draws out his philosophy of life, his playing Schumann's *Carnival* suggesting a starting point, and Fifine affording illustration. The music gives him a dream of the world as a masque; and under this form he studies all its institutions to see what they will afford for the development of the soul.

In paragraph one hundred and twenty-seven the speaker trudges home with Elvire, and discusses through the next

four paragraphs what sense and falsehood do for man, in view of death as the "final" of earth's opportunities.

In the last paragraph he slips away; but the epilogue continues the discussion with the declaration that "Love is all, and Death is naught."

Mr. Nettleship outlines the purpose and meaning of the poem in these words: "The poem is put into the form of a monologue, spoken by a man; throughout he introduces observations and objections made by his wife, each of which he discusses and answers. The whole poem is dramatic: the speaker is any man you like, of high attainments, lofty aspirations, strong emotions, and capricious will. Being such a man, he deals partly with truth, somewhat with sophism. His reasoning is good so far as his intellect and aspiration direct it; but the last section of the poem proves the truth of his own philosophy (embodied in the swimmer symbol), namely, that a man reaching after too high an ideal is likely to fall the lower, the higher he has striven to reach. The clearest way of showing where he uses truth, sophism, or a mixture of both is to say that wherever he speaks of Fifine (whether as type or not) in relation to himself and his own desire for truth, or right living with his wife, he is sophistical; wherever he speaks directly of his wife's value to him (except in paragraphs thirty-eight and thirty-nine) he speaks truth with an alloy of sophism; and wherever he speaks impersonally he speaks the truth. The man and his wife are cultivated people of independent means living at Pornic in Brittany. It is Pornic fair, and the fair has tempted thither a company of strolling actors, rope-dancers, and athletes. The husband takes the beauty of this strolling company, Fifine, as a type, *first*, of womanhood, to point the moral of man's relations with women; *second*, as a symbol of any influence good or bad which a wise man is bound to make use of for his soul's development during its life in this world only. Using her for a text, he moralizes on certain facts and ideas connected with the life of any individual man, as a gregarious and progressive being, among collective men and women."

Prof. C. C. Everett, in the *Old and New*, for November, 1872, says: "The Don Juan who could justify his course must be of a philosophic turn; he must be able to play with

the outsides of things. Then, too, the reader must not expect a clear, consistent, and satisfactory argument. The poet-philosopher who would make the worse appear the better reason must deal more or less in sophistries. He must put forth pretensions in one place that he fails to satisfy in another. He must sometimes wear a mask; but this he cannot wear always. Finally, the reader must remember that this is poetry, and not prose. He must not expect an argument that will follow its heads like a sermon."

An analysis and summary of the poem by Rev. J. Sharpe is given in *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 255.

In her "picture of constancy," Miss Burt, in *Browning's Women*, gives a study of Elvire and Fifine. An extended and keen analysis of the poem, entering fully into its details, and also into its philosophy, is that by Mr. J. T. Nettleship, published in the second number, 1 : 199 and 1 : 17*, of *The Browning Society's Papers;* reprinted in *Essays and Thoughts.* Also *Old and New*, C. C. Everett, 6 : 609; *Canadian Monthly*, Goldwin Smith, 2 : 285; *Temple Bar*, 37 : 315; *The Browning Society's Papers*, 2 : 240*; *The Academy*, Nov. 27, 1875.

Filippo Baldinucci on the Privilege of Burial. A Reminiscence of A. D. 1676. *Pacchiarotto, with Other Poems*, 1876.

Filippo Baldinucci, a distinguished Italian writer on art, was born in Florence in 1624, and died in 1696. His chief work is his *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno*, or *Notices of Painters, from Cimabue. 1620 – 1670.* This history of art is a series of biographical sketches in six volumes, but it is intensely Florentine in its purpose and method. The complete works of Baldinucci were published at Milan in fourteen volumes, 1808 – 1812. See further account of Baldinucci in this volume under *Pacchiarotto.*

The incident related in the poem is contained in Baldinucci's sketch of Lodovico Buti, as follows:

"He was given an order to make a figure of Christ crucified, which is now seen in one of the corners on the side of the wall just outside the gate at San Friano. It does not seem out of place to relate here an interesting anecdote of a little episode which took place concerning this picture, and which was told to me in my early youth by an old and venerable man, who lived at that time.

"To begin, we will say that on the left of the above-named gate, stretching out towards Monticelli, is a little cemetery, the lateral terminations of which on the side of the street are enclosed by mulberry trees and lead in the direction of a little property at the foot of Monte Oliveto, called Verzaia. This little cemetery, in the last century, and even in the time of which we write, was used for a burying ground for the Jews. In the upper part, it is bounded by a very narrow road, which, diverging from the highway, winds around a hill, contiguous to which is the side of the aforesaid angle, where was already built a handsome chapel, the same one in which the above-mentioned *Crucifixion* is now seen. In this chapel the patron of the place had already had painted a handsome picture of the Virgin Mary, with the end in view, that it could be seen the first thing by anyone entering the city; and thus, this figure accidentally became the principal feature of this little cemetery. The Jews were much annoyed to see our sacred image in that place, and they held a meeting, in order to decide upon some means of having it removed at any cost. To this end they had an interview with the patron of the place, and expressed to him their wishes, promising to make him a present of one hundred ducats, whenever he would consent to have this picture transferred to the other side, which overlooked the public street. The bargain was made and the money counted out. The place was hung with curtains, and the new picture painted. As soon as it was discovered the discontent of the Jews was revived; for whilst they thought the former ornament was being taken away the work was still going on, and the figure of the Virgin was transferred to the other side, but in its place was introduced a handsome *Crucifixion*, which is the one we have mentioned.

"Some of the Jews perceiving all at once in the distance these two pictures, when they returned home and related the fact to their companions, they rose in a body, and such confusion and excitement ensued among these vicious people, that it really appeared as if the Jewish quarter would be destroyed. At last a meeting of the old men took place, and one of the oldest and most incensed of the rabbis was sent to call the person, who was the author of

this joke, to account. The rabbi having delivered his message and expressed his rage, and indeed having been allowed every privilege of speech, the deputy arose, and with the greatest calmness he spoke to them this: 'Tell me, good people, why do you find fault with my patron? Your bargain has been fulfilled to the letter, and what else do you want? It is my opinion that you are very presumptuous, that with your sordid money you wished to buy my patron's liberty.'

"Then the rabbis dispersed, discontentedly, but tacitly acknowledging they were wrong. They said no more about it, and no longer tried with their ill-gotten riches to control the piety of good Christians."

Fire is the Flint. The first words of the fifth lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies.*

Flight of the Duchess, The. This poem was first printed in *Hood's Magazine* for April, 1845. See *Nationality in Drinks* in this volume for reasons for this publication. The first nine sections only were thus printed; the whole poem first appeared in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, number seven of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. *Poems*, 1849; *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

This poem took its rise from a line — "Following the Queen of the Gypsies, O!" the burden of a song which the poet, when a boy, heard a woman singing on a Guy Fawkes' Day. As Browning was writing it, he was interrupted by the arrival of a friend on some important business, which drove all thoughts of the Duchess, and the scheme of her story, out of the poet's head. But some months after the publication of the first part, when he was staying at Bettisfield Park, in Shropshire, a guest, speaking of early winter, said, "The deer had already to break the ice in the pond." On this a fancy struck the poet, and, on returning home, he worked it up into the conclusion of the poem as it now stands.

In stanza three *merlin* is a species of hawk; *falcon-lanner* is a long-tailed species of hawk. — In stanza six *urochs* is wild bull, and *buffle* is buffalo. — In stanza ten *St. Hubert* is the patron saint of huntsmen; *lacquer* is yellowish varnish; *venerers, prickers, and verderers* are huntsmen, light-horse-

men, and guardians of venison. — In section eleven *wind a mort* is to announce that the deer is taken; *sealed her eyes* means to close them, a term used in falconry; *fifty-part canon* is explained by Browning himself in a note published by Corson: "A canon, in music, is a piece wherein the subject is repeated, in various keys: and being strictly obeyed in the repetition becomes the 'canon' — the imperative law — to what follows. Fifty of such parts would be indeed a notable peal: to manage three is enough of an achievement for a good musician." — In section thirteen *helicat* is hell-cat or witch; *imps the wing of the hawk* means to insert new feathers into the wing in place of those which are broken. — In section fourteen *tomans* are Persian coins. — In section seventeen *morion* is a helmet; *Orson the wood-knight* is described in the fifteenth century *Romance of Valentine and Orson*. Corson says that Orson was the twin brother of Valentine and son of Bellisant. The brothers were born in a wood near Orleans, and Orson was carried off by a bear (French *ourson*, a small bear), which suckled him with her cubs. When he grew up, he became the terror of France, and was called The Wild Man of the Forest. Ultimately he was reclaimed by his brother Valentine, overthrew the Green Knight, his rival in love, and married Fezon, daughter of the Duke of Savary, in Aquitaine.

See Corson's *Introduction*. Miss Burt's *Browning's Women* discusses this poem in the chapter on "Lost Chords." Mrs. Owen, in the fourth number of *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1:49*, analyses and interprets the poem in an allegorical manner. Dr. Furnivall and others, in the discussion following the paper, say that the poem is simply a romance. John T. Nettleship, in *Essays on Browning's Poetry*, gives a chapter to this poem, and it is discussed in Kingsland's *Chief Poet of the Age*.

Flower's Name, The. See *Garden Fancies*.

Flute-Music, With an Accompaniment. *Asolando*, 1889.

Forgiveness, A. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*, 1876.

The speaker is a man who makes confession to his confessor of the crime by which he had poisoned his wife in jealousy of a supposed rival. She had told him the truth

concerning her relations to another, but his jealousy made her write in her own blood, with a dagger, the confession she makes; and the dagger is poisoned. The dagger described was one possessed by Browning himself in a large collection of similar deadly implements.

Founder of the Feast, The. A series of popular concerts were held in London, at St. James' Hall, on Saturdays and Mondays. They were managed by Mr. Arthur Chappell; and when the patrons presented him with an album Browning wrote in it a poem addressed "To Arthur Chappell." Printed in *The World*, April 16, 1884; *The Browning Society's Papers*, number seven, 2 : 18*; Riverside edition Browning's *Works*, 1889.

THE FOUNDER OF THE FEAST.

"Enter my palace," if a prince should say —
"Feast with the Painters! See, in bounteous row,
They range from Titian up to Angelo!"
Could we be silent at the rich survey?
A host so kindly, in as great a way
Invites to banquet, substitutes for show
Sound that's diviner still, and bids us know
Bach like Beethoven; are we thankless, pray?

Thanks, then, to Arthur Chappell, — thanks to him
Whose every guest henceforth not idly vaunts
"Sense has received the utmost Nature grants,
My cup was filled with rapture to the brim,
When, night by night, — ah, memory, how it haunts! —
Music was poured by perfect ministrants,
By Halle, Schumann, Piatti, Joachim."

April 5th, 1884.

Fra Lippo Lippi. *Men and Women*, 1855, and has since retained its place in that volume. Written at Rome in the winter of 1853–1854.

Filippo Lippi was born at Florence, in 1406. He studied art under Tommasaccio, who is usually known as Masaccio, and who is called in the poem "hulking Tom." His poverty in childhood carried him into a convent, but he was by nature wholly unfitted for that kind of life. He escaped from it, led a free and easy life of travel and adventure, and finally settled in Florence under the patronage of Cosimo de' Medici. He was a realist in art, painting life

as he saw it about him ; and even sacred subjects he treated in the same manner. He was bold, fervid, naïve, full of delight in the natural, and not inclined to refine or idealize. The coarseness of his life, as contrasted with the beauty of his artistic work, is the subject of the poem. It was to Vasari's *Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* that Browning was indebted for his conception of this painter, and he has more or less fully versified the account there given of him. He has added many touches of his own, such as were needed to make the story of Lippi's life fit for his poetic purposes. Vasari's account, as translated by Mrs. Forster, contains some items of interest about the life of this painter not made use of by Browning, but which help in securing a just estimate of his character. The narrative is as follows :

"The Carmelite monk, Fra Filippo di Tommaso Lippi, was born at Florence in a bye street called Ardiglione, under the Canto alla Cuculia, and behind the convent of the Carmelites. By the death of his father he was left a friendless orphan at the age of two years, his mother having also died shortly after his birth. The child was for some time under the care of a certain Mona Lapaccia, his aunt, the sister of his father, who brought him up with very great difficulty till he had attained his eighth year, when, being no longer able to support the burden of his maintenance, she placed him in the above-named convent of the Carmelites. Here, in proportion as he showed himself dexterous and ingenious in all works performed by hand, did he manifest the utmost dullness and incapacity in letters, to which he would never apply himself, nor would he take any pleasure in learning of any kind. The boy continued to be called by his worldly name of Filippo ; and, — being placed with others, who like himself were in the house of the novices, under the care of the master, to the end that the latter might see what could be done with him, — in place of studying, he never did anything but daub his own books, and those of the other boys, with caricatures, whereupon the prior determined to give him all means and every opportunity for learning to draw. The chapel of the Carmine had then been newly painted by Masaccio, and this being exceedingly beautiful pleased Fra Filippo greatly, wherefore

he frequented it daily for his recreation, and, continually practising there in company with many other youths, who were constantly drawing in that place, he surpassed all the others by very much in dexterity and knowledge: inasmuch as he was considered certain to accomplish some marvelous thing in the course of time. For not only in his youth, but when almost in his childhood, he performed so many praiseworthy labors, that it was truly wonderful. . . .

"It is said that Fra Filippo was much addicted to the pleasures of sense, insomuch that he would give all that he possessed to secure the gratification of whatever inclination might at the moment be predominant; but if he could by no means accomplish his wishes, he would then depict the object which had attracted his attention, in his paintings, and endeavor by discoursing and reasoning with himself to diminish the violence of his inclination. It was known that while occupied in the pursuit of his pleasures, the works undertaken by him received little or none of his attention; for which reason Cosimo de' Medici, wishing him to execute a work in his own palace, shut him up, that he might not waste his time in running about; but having endured this confinement for two days, he then made ropes with the sheets of his bed, which he cut to pieces for that purpose, and so having let himself down from a window, escaped, and for several days gave himself up to his amusements. When Cosimo found that the painter had disappeared, he caused him to be sought, and Fra Filippo at last returned to his work, but from that time forward Cosimo gave him his liberty to go in and out at his pleasure, repenting greatly of having previously shut him up when he considered the danger that Fra Filippo had incurred by his folly in descending from the window; and ever afterwards, laboring to keep him to his work by kindness only, he was by this means much more promptly and effectually served by the painter, and was wont to say that the excellencies of rare genius were as forms of light and not beasts of burden. . . .

"In Florence, . . . having received a commission from the nuns of Santa Margherita to paint a picture for the high altar of their church, he one day chanced to see the daughter of Francesco Buti, a citizen of Florence, who had been sent to the Convent, either as a novice or boarder. Fra Filippo

having given a glance at Lucrezia, for such was the name of the girl, who was exceedingly beautiful and graceful, so persuaded the nuns, that he prevailed on them to permit him to make a likeness of her for the figure of the Virgin in the work he was executing for them. The result of this was that the painter fell violently in love with Lucrezia, and at length found means to influence her in such a manner, that he led her away from the nuns, and on a certain day, when she had gone forth to do honor to the Cintola of our Lady. By this event the nuns were deeply disgraced, and the father of Lucrezia was so grievously afflicted thereat, that he nevermore recovered his cheerfulness, and made every possible effort to regain his child. But Lucrezia, whether retained by fear or by some other cause, would not return, but remained with Filippo, to whom she bore a son, who was also called Filippo, and who eventually became a most excellent and very famous painter like his father. . . .

"Fra Filippo was indeed so highly estimated for his great gifts, that many circumstances in his life which were very blamable received pardon, and were partly placed out of view, in consideration of his extraordinary abilities. . . . He was an artist of such power, that in his own time he was surpassed by none, and even in our days there are very few superior to him; therefore it is that he has not only been always eulogized by Michael Angelo, but in many things has been imitated by that master. . . .

"He lived creditably by his labors, and expended very large sums on the pleasures to which he continued to addict himself, even to the end of his life. Fra Filippo was requested by the commune of Spoleto to paint the chapel in their principal church, and this work he was conducting to a successful termination, when, being overtaken by death, he was prevented from completing it. It was said that the libertinism of his conduct occasioned this catastrophe, and that he was poisoned by certain persons related to the object of his love. . . . Pope Eugenius IV. offered in his lifetime to give him a dispensation that he might make Lucrezia di Francesco Buti his legitimate wife; but Fra Filippo, desiring to retain the power of living after his own fashion, and of indulging his love of pleasure as might seem good to him, did not care to accept that offer."

In Richter's *Commentaries* on the *Lives* of Vasari the errors of the Italian writer are corrected with reference to Lippi. "The romantic story which Vasari tells is too exciting not to arouse the suspicion that little in it may stand the test of documentary evidence. In the interest of clearing up all doubts in this matter, Signor Gaetano Milanesi has of late undertaken to bring together all the documents in which the artist is named, and he has thus been enabled to re-write the whole life, the data of which may be summed up in the following brief account. The date of his birth is most probably the year 1406, not 1402 as Vasari has it in his first edition, nor 1412 as we read in his second edition. When about eight years old he was sent to the convent Del Carmine, where he received the ordinary monastic instruction. At the age of fifteen he became a novice, and in 1421 the holy orders were solemnly bestowed upon him. The young friar seems to have studied painting not only from the works of Masaccio, but also under the direction of this master, who was at work in the church of the same monastery until his death, which occurred in 1468. In 1430 and 1431 the account books of the monastery distinguish the friar's name by adding the word 'painter.' After the last-named year his name entirely disappears from the books. Apparently he left the monastery in order to devote himself entirely to painting. Vasari says that in so doing he threw off the clerical habit, but this is improbable, since he continued to be on good terms with the friars of Del Carmine. Probably he left the monastery with the approbation of his superiors. . . . Documents inform us that in 1442, by a papal bull, he became rector and abbot for life of the parochial church of San Quirica a Legnaja, near Florence. Soon after the year 1452, he settled at Prato, where he bought a house, staying therein until about 1463. He seems to have settled at Prato soon after the year 1452, on account of the extensive wall-paintings which he had been commissioned to paint there. In 1456, when fifty years old, he became the chaplain of the monastery of Santa Margherita, where he fell in love with one of the nuns, Lucrezia Buti, born in 1435, who had been forced to become a nun in 1451, after the death of her father. The nun served the artist as a model for the figure of a Virgin

in a picture. This seems to have given her the opportunity of revealing to the artist her intention of escaping from involuntary captivity. On the feast of Cintola, the renowned relic of Prato Cathedral, Fra Filippo succeeded in bringing her to his house, where she gave birth to a son, Filippo or Filippino, the renowned painter (1457). Spinetta Buti, the sister of Lucrezia (born 1434), with other nuns, followed the example given them by Lucrezia, and fled from the monastery, but in 1459 all had to return and to re-enter the novitiate. In 1461 there were before the magistrate new accusations against Fra Filippo and others for their disorderly intimacy with the nuns of Santa Margherita. But before the end of the same year Pope Pius II., on the recommendation of Cosimo de' Medici, granted him a dispensation, recognizing thereby the friar and the nun as a married couple. Vasari unduly brings against the artist the charge that he, desiring to retain the power of living after his own fashion, and of indulging his love of pleasure as might seem good to him, did not accept the pope's offer. The truth is that he accepted it, and Lucrezia continued to live in his house, where, in 1465, she was delivered of a daughter, named Alessandra. The Pope's dispensation from ecclesiastical duties caused him the loss of the income derived from them, and he became thus forced to depend entirely on his profession as a painter."

Cosimo of the Medici is Cosmo de' Medici, the Florentine statesman, who lived from 1389 to 1464. — *Pilchards* are a kind of fish. — *The slave that holds John Baptist's head a-dangle by the hair* is an imaginary picture. The London Browning Society publish a photograph of this picture in the first part of their *Illustrations to Browning's Poems*, accompanied by Mr. Ernest Radford's description of the picture. — *Saint Laurence* is the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, containing the tombs of the Medici, and several of the great pictures by Michael Angelo. — *Old Aunt Lapaccia* is Mona Lapaccia, the sister of Lippi's father. — *The Eight* consisted of a magistracy of that number of men established in 1376, for the direction of the city government of Florence. — *Camaldolese* are the monks of the convent of Camaldoli. — *Giotto* is Giotto di Bordone, a painter, sculptor, and architect, who lived from 1266 to 1337, one

of Dante's friends, and greatly influential in the revival of art in Italy.

Brother Angelico is Fra Angelico, whose real name was Giovanni da Fiesole, and who lived from 1387 to 1455. He belonged to the mediæval school of painters, kept up the traditions of the past, and the idea that the soul was to be painted and not the flesh. In her *Memoirs of Italian Painters* Mrs. Jameson says: "To Angelico the art of painting a picture devoted to religious purposes was an act of religion, for which he prepared himself by fasting and prayer, imploring on bended knees the benediction of heaven on his work. He then, under the impression that he had obtained the blessing he sought, and glowing with what might truly be called inspiration, took up his pencil, and, mingling with his earnest and pious humility a singular species of self-uplifted enthusiasm, he could never be persuaded to alter his first draught or composition, believing that which he had done was according to the will of God, and could not be changed for the better by any afterthought of his own or suggestion from others."

Brother Lorenzo is Lorenzo Monaca, a Camaldoli monk, who had the same tendencies with Fra Angelico in painting. — *Guidi* is Tommaso Guidi, called Masaccio or Tommasaccio, Slovenly or Hulking Tom. Browning makes Guidi one of Lippi's pupils, in this following good authorities. It now is probably decided that Lippi was the pupil of Guidi. — The *Saint Laurence* whose picture was painted at Prato suffered martyrdom in the time of Valerian, A. D. 258, by being broiled to death on a gridiron. — *Sant' Ambrogio's* is a convent in Florence. — *Saint Ambrose* is the great archbishop of Milan, one of the most influential of the Christian leaders of the fourth century. — *A pretty picture gained* is that of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, in the Accademia delle Belle Arti, Florence.

Fra Lippo Lippi died at Spoleto in 1469. Many of his pictures are at Spoleto and Prato, but the largest number and the best are in Florence. His Madonnas are in the Pitti, Uffizi, Louvre, and Berlin Galleries. In the Cathedral of Prato, near Florence, are frescoes from his hand; and in the National Gallery, London, are panels. For farther information about Lippi see Lübke, Mrs. Jameson's

Memoirs of Italian Painters, and other works on the history of art. Vasari has much to say about his pictures.

The story of Lippo Lippi's life, as told by Vasari, has been made the subject of a romance by Margaret Vere Farrington, under the title of *Fra Lippo Lippi*. Readers of the poem will find this novel of much interest. Of special value are the fourteen full-page illustrations of persons and scenes mentioned in the poem. These include a portrait of the painter, one of Fra Lippo Lippi and Lucrezia Buti, and another of the Abbess Margherita. Lippo Lippi's *Annunciation*, *Virgin and Child*, *Madonna and Child*, and *Coronation* are reproduced. The other illustrations include two of the pictures of Fra Angelico, and views of Florence, Ancona, and Spoleto.

Francesco Romanelli. A painter of Rome, in *Beatrice Signorini*, who paints a portrait of a woman painter, Artemisia, which is destroyed by his wife, whose name is given to the poem.

Francis Furini, Parleyings with. *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in Their Day*, 1883.

Francesco Furini was born in 1604, and died in 1649. His father Filippo, called Sciameroni, a painter of considerable ability, was his teacher in art. He also studied under Passignano and Rosselli. Then he went to Rome. He took up the methods of Guido and Albani, and painted artificial and mythological subjects. He earnestly continued his studies, however, acquired ability in design, and worked with the able artist Giovanni di San Giovanni. He was especially fond of designing nude figures, and in these he showed great delicacy; and he chose out those subjects in which the human form could be treated with propriety and elegance, such as Adam and Eve, Lot and his daughters, Noah's drunkenness; or similar subjects from mythology, such as the death of Adonis, Diana and the other nymphs bathing, and the judgment of Paris. Fuseli says that "his works are excessively praised, and allowed to possess abundance of grace in the contours of his figures, as well as in the airs of his heads. Many of his paintings are in Florence, which are deemed to add honor to the valuable collections of the nobility of that city." While Furini was graceful in drawing, he was defective in color. He tried to be proper

in dealing with the nude, but he was sometimes wanting in refinement. On his death-bed he asked that all his undraped pictures might be collected and destroyed; but this was not done. The change in sentiment thus expressed had led him at the age of about forty to become a priest; and he was until his death an exemplary parish curate, having charge of the parish of St. Ansano in the Magello. He did not, however, entirely abandon his work as a painter.

Nettleship says "this poem contains a splendid attack on the prurient modesty which finds lust to be the chief motive power in the production of all great statues or pictures from the nude. But its main purpose, with which indeed the bulk of the poem is occupied, lies in a closely reasoned argument, designed to prove the absolute necessity for understanding the bodily life of man before you can penetrate to his soul, and thence to deduce by reasonable inference the existence, outside but not within man, though ever in touch with him, of an infinitely wise, strong, and loving First Cause, or God."

Baldinucci is the author of an Italian *History of Art* from which Browning drew his account of Furini; and he was also Furini's friend. — *Quicherat* published in 1849 a five-volume history of the trial of Joan d'Arc. — *D'Alençon* wrote an account of her personal life.

See Nettleship, and a paper by Arthur Symons in number nine of *The Browning Society's Papers*.

Fust and his Friends. (Inside the house of Fust, Mayence, 1457.) The epilogue to *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, 1887.

Johann Fust was born of a rich burgher family of Mainz or Mayence, but the year is not known. He became a banker, but his brother Jacob was a goldsmith. He was a money-lender and speculator, and it was as such he first came into connection with Gutenberg, the real inventor of printing. It was about 1440 that Gutenberg began his experiments which led to the invention of printing; but in 1448 he had exhausted his financial resources, and borrowed money of Fust. In 1449 Fust loaned Gutenberg a large sum, and agreed to give him three hundred florins a year, and was to receive half profits. Fust did not keep his part of the agreement, but in 1455 brought suit against Guten-

berg, which resulted in a verdict in his favor. Fust moved his part of the printing materials to his house called Zum Humbreicht in Mainz, and there began to do printing with the aid of Peter Schoeffer. He first printed the *Psalter*, which came from the press August 14, 1457, a folio of 350 pages, which was the first printed book with a complete date. It is now believed that Gutenberg did a part of the work on this book, before his separation from Fust, and that its beauty of workmanship was owing to this fact.

Trithemius, writing in 1514, says of the event which is described in the poem: "Peter Schoeffer, at that time a workman, but afterward son-in-law, of the first inventor, John Fust, a man skillful and ingenious, devised a more easy method of founding types, and thus gave the art its present perfection. And the three men [Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer] kept secret among themselves, for a while, this method of printing, up to the time when their workmen were deprived of the work, without which they were unable to practise their trade, by whom it was divulged, first in Strasburg, and afterward in other cities."

Another writer, said to be Jo. Frid. Faustus, a nephew of Fust, gave this account of the invention: "Fust had many workmen, among whom was Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim, who, when he perceived the difficulties and delays of his master, was seized with an ardent desire to accomplish the success of the new art. Through the special inspiration of God, he discovered the secret by which types of the matrix, as they are called, could be cut, and types could be founded from them, which, for this purpose, could be composed in frequent combinations, and not be singly cut as they had been before. Schoeffer secretly cut matrices of the alphabet, and showed types cast therefrom to his master, John Fust, who was so greatly pleased with them, and rejoiced so greatly, that he immediately promised to him his only daughter, and soon after he gave her to him in marriage. But even with this kind of type, great difficulty was experienced. The metal was soft and did not withstand pressure, until they invented an alloy which gave it proper strength. As they had happily succeeded in this undertaking, Fust and Schoeffer bound their workmen by oath to conceal the process with the greatest secrecy; but

they showed to friends, whenever it pleased them, the first experimental types of wood, which they tied up with a string and preserved."

These accounts, however, have been proved to be full of misstatemants, and probably with the aim of glorifying Fust and Schoeffer at the expense of Gutenberg. The latter had before this date invented and used metal types; and many copies of his books had been put in circulation. See a full history of the subject in De Vinne's *Invention of Printing*, where the book printed by Fust in 1457 is fully described, with reproductions. Also Humphrey's *History of the Art of Printing*, London, published by Bernard Quaritch, which gives very full illustrations of Gutenberg's and Fust's books.

Browning has accepted the Fust account of the invention of printing, as told by Trithemius and the anonymous Faustus, as being a correct one. At least, it answered his poetical purpose. He describes the secret printing of the *Psalter*, and the sensation produced by the rapid multiplication of copies of the printed page. The early printers at first imitated, as far as possible, the manuscript books; and this was the case with Fust's *Psalter*. Later members of the Fust family wrote the name Faustus, which led to the confounding of it with the name of the magician who has held so large a place in legend and poetry.

The statement was made by Durr, a professor at Altdorf, that when Fust showed his books he was suspected of magic because he could produce them so rapidly and with such uniformity. He also says the monks opposed Fust, because he took from them the opportunity of making books. Other similar statements were made, with as little foundation in truth; but they have been too often accepted as a part of the genuine history of printing.

"The first book published by Fust, after his separation from Gutenberg," says De Vinne, "was the *Psalter* of 1457, a folio of 175 leaves. Only seven copies of the edition of 1457 are known, and all of them are on vellum. The leaves of this book are nearly square, and they are made up, for the most part, in sections of ten nested leaves. The size of the printed page is irregular, but most pages are about eight inches wide, and twelve inches high. . . .

It is obviously an imitation not only of the copyist's but of the illuminator's work upon a fine manuscript. It was intended that the book should show the full capacity of the newly discovered art. Letters and lines in red ink are to be found on every page, and there are many very large and profusely ornamented initials in red and blue inks. . . . Schoeffer was compelled to brighten the colors by painting. Although sold as a printed book, the *Psalter* was the joint work of the printer and the illuminator, and the features which the modern bibliographer most admires are those made by the illuminator."

See Nettleship, and paper by Arthur Symons in *The Browning Society's Papers*, number nine.

Garden Fancies. The poems published under this general title first appeared in *Hood's Magazine*, July, 1844. See *Nationality in Drinks* for an account of the circumstances of their publication. The two poems were, I. The Flower's Name; II. Sibrandus Schafnaburgensis. They were reprinted in the *Poems* of 1849; in the *Poetical Works* of 1863 they were put among the *Lyrics*, which in 1868 became *Dramatic Lyrics*.

George Bubb Dodington, Parleyings with. *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in Their Day*, 1887.

George Bubb was born in 1691, took the name of Dodington on the death of an uncle who left him a large estate, and entered Parliament at the age of twenty-four. He held various positions of importance under government, especially in connection with the navy, was two or three times in the ministry, was intimately connected with Frederic, Prince of Wales, and was made Baron Melcombe in 1761. He controlled five votes in Parliament, because of the position of his family, and these he used in whatever way would be the most to his own advantage. He changed sides in politics whenever advancement could be secured by so doing. He was given to intrigue and political servility. The editor of his *Diary* says that his political conduct was "wholly directed by the base motives of avarice, vanity, and selfishness." Another writer says that "never was such a composition of vanity, versatility, and servility." He did not follow principle or consistency: his whole aim in life was

political preferment and the securing of a title. So well was this understood that, when he appeared at Court, George II. said: "I see Dodington here sometimes; what does he come for?" On one occasion, when Horace Walpole was discussing the majority in Parliament, he said: "I do not count Dodington, who must now always be in the minority, for no majority will accept him." Pope called him Bubo, Churchill satirized him, and the wits made him the butt of their sharpest gibes. Yet he had many to praise him; but that praise is explained in the line of Young's: —

> "You give protection — I a worthless strain."

Warton probably praised him from the same cause, his patronage: —

> "To praise a Dodington, rash bard, forbear!
> What can thy weak and ill-tuned voice avail,
> When on that theme both Young and Thomson fail?"

Fielding and Bentley also condescended to flatter him, for he aspired to become a patron of literature and literary men; and he left no means unused to secure the praise which his vanity and his ambition found helpful to his political prosperity. He was a writer of verses, and he had a high reputation as a wit. He lived in luxury and made a great display of his wealth. His private life, however, was as mean and treacherous as was his public career. After living with Mrs. Behan for seventeen years he acknowledged that he had been married to her all the time, but that he was unable to acknowledge his marriage, because he had given a large bond to another lady that he would marry no one else. In fact, his sole aim in life was to push his own interests, and "to make some figure in the world." His character is very correctly described by Browning in his poem. He secured the height of his ambition when he was made Baron Melcombe; but he died the next year, in 1762. See his own *Diary*, Walpole's *Letters*, Chesterfield's *Letters*, Walpole's *Memoirs of George II.*, Coxe's *Pelham Administration*, Edgeworth's *Education;* and Hawkins' *Life of Johnson.*

See Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*, and *The Browning Society's Papers*, number nine, paper by Arthur Symons.

Gerard. The leading servant of Lord Tresham in *A Blot on the 'Scutcheon.*

Gerard de Lairesse. Parleyings with. *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, 1887.

Gerard de Lairesse was born at Liège, in 1640. He studied the art of painting with his father and with Bartolet, acquiring from the latter his taste for the antique. He began his career as a painter in Utrecht, but, meeting with little success, he went to Amsterdam, one of his pictures, which he had sent to that city, securing him a welcome and patronage. He soon gained fame and wealth, for he was an industrious and rapid painter, while his social qualities attracted to him many friends and admirers. By the Dutch he was highly esteemed, for they ranked him as their "second Raphael," Hemskirk being the first. His work was unequal in merit, being executed too rapidly; but in expression and color he had much merit. His pictures were largely of an allegorical and mythological nature, unreal in spirit and manner, and too fanciful to convey much of truth. It is this tendency toward the unreal which Browning discusses and condemns in his poem. "In every one of his pictures," says one who has written of him, "there are great appearances of a masterly genius, for his expression is generally lively, his coloring good, true, and glowing; and a light, firm touch gives a beauty and value to everything he painted." Towards the end of his life he became blind: but he had his friends about him, and many artists. To these he talked with great freedom and vivacity, discoursing to them of painting and of the ideal in art. His sayings were noted down by his companions, and after his death, which took place in 1711, these discourses were made into a volume, by a society of artists, and published as his *Treatise on the Art of Painting.* This work was translated into English by J. F. Fritsch, and published in 1778. Lairesse was deformed, extravagant in his habits and tastes, fond of dress, and led a dissipated life. His picture called the *History of Heliodorus* was accounted his masterpiece, while his *Young Moses trampling on the Crown of Pharaoh*, *Polyxena*, *Germanicus*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra* were highly esteemed.

The English translation of Lairesse Browning read with

great interest and satisfaction when a boy, and it was his memory of this book which caused him to write the poem. The eighth stanza was suggested by Æschylus and the myth of Prometheus, while the tenth stanza draws upon Moschus.

The song at the end of this poem was first printed in a small volume called the *New Amphion*, and published for the Edinburgh University Union Fancy Fair, 1886.

See Nettleship, and Arthur Symons in number nine of *The Browning Society's Papers.*

Give a Rouse. First published in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842, as II. of the *Cavalier Tunes*, which see. *Poems*, 1849; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Give her but a least excuse to love me. Pippa's song in *Pippa Passes*, as she goes along the street in front of the house of Jules, vol. i. p. 348, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works.*

Glove, The. (**Peter Ronsard** *loquitur*). First published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, number seven of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. *Poems*, 1849; *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

The story related in this poem is one well known in literature, but was first told by St. Foix in his *Essai sur Paris.* The incident occurred in the reign of Francis I., of France, who was King during the first half of the sixteenth century. Schiller made use of this story, and his poem will be found in Bulwer Lytton's translation of his *Poems and Ballads.* In this translation the name of the lady is Cunigonde. Leigh Hunt tells the same story in his *Rimini and Other Poems*, where he calls it

THE GLOVE AND THE LIONS.

King Francis was a hearty king, and lov'd a royal sport,
And one day, as his lions fought, sat looking on the Court;
The nobles fill'd the benches round, the ladies by their side,
And 'mongst them sat the Count de Lorge, with one for whom he sigh'd:
And truly 't was a gallant thing to see that crowning show,
Valor and love, and a king above, and the royal beasts below.

Ramp'd and roar'd the lions, with horrid laughing jaws;
They bit, they glar'd, gave blows like beams, a wind went with their paws;

With swallowing might and stifl'd roar, they roll'd on one another.
Till all the pit, with sand and mane, was in a thunderous smother;
The bloody foam above the bars came whizzing through the air:
Said Francis, then, "Faith, gentlemen, we 're better here than there."

De Lorge's love o'erheard the king, a beauteous, lively dame,
With smiling lips and sharp bright eyes, which always seem'd the same;
She thought, The Count, my lover, is brave as brave can be —
He surely would do wondrous things to show his love of me:
King, ladies, lovers, all look on; the occasion is divine, —
I'll drop my glove, to prove his love, then look at him and smile.

She dropp'd her glove, to prove his love, then look'd at him and smil'd;
He bow'd, and in a moment leap'd among the lions wild:
The leap was quick, quick was return, he has regain'd the place,
Then threw the glove, but not with love, right in the lady's face.
"By God!" cried Francis, "rightly done!" and he rose from where he sat;
"No love," quoth he, "but vanity, sets love a task like that!"

Browning was not satisfied with this account of the action of the lady; and he gives the story a quite different ending, keeping the legendary form of the narrative by putting it into the mouth of Peter Ronsard, the founder of the classical school of French poets, who lived in the time of King Francis. Clement Marot was another poet of the same period, who, at the court of Margaret of Navarre, translated the Psalms in a spirit so liberal they had much to do in spreading Protestantism. Most of his poems were of a lyrical and amorous nature.

Gold Hair: a Legend of Pornic. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

This poem was written in Normandy, where the poet spent several months for Mrs. Browning's health, in the autumn of 1858.

According to Mrs. Orr this is "a true story of Pornic, which may be read in guide-books to the place. A young girl of good family died there in odor of sanctity; she seemed too pure and fragile for earth. But she had one earthly charm, that of glorious golden hair; and one earthly feeling, which was her apparent pride in it. As she lay on her deathbed, she entreated that it might not be disturbed; and she was buried near the high altar of the church of St. Gilles, a picturesque old church which has since been de-

stroyed, with the golden tresses closely swathed about her. Years afterwards, the church needed repair. A loose coin drew attention to the spot in which the coffin lay. Its boards had burst, and scattered about lay thirty double louis, which had been hidden in the golden hair. So the saint-like maiden was a miser." For an acount of Pornic see *Fifine at the Fair* in this volume.

"This poem," according to Mr. Sharp, "was printed for private limited circulation, though primarily for the purpose of securing American copyright. Browning several times printed single poems thus, and for the same reasons — that is, either for transatlantic copyright, or when the verses were not likely to be included in any volume for a prolonged period. These leaflets or half-sheetlets of *Gold Hair* and *Prospice*, of *Cleon* and *The Statue and the Bust* are among the rarest finds for the collector."

See Miss Burt's *Browning's Women* for a study of this poem.

Goldoni. Goldoni was the father of modern Italian comedy, and lived from 1707 to 1793. He was a Venetian by birth, and wrote largely in the dialect of that city. A monument to his memory was erected at Venice in 1883. Browning wrote for the album of the Committee of the Goldoni Monument a stanza which so pleased its members that they gave it the first place. It was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* for December 8, 1883, and in the fifth number of *The Browning Society's Papers*.

"Goldoni — good, gay, sunniest of souls, —
Glassing half Venice in that verse of thine, —
What though it just reflect the shade and shine
Of common life, nor render, as it rolls,
Grandeur and gloom? Sufficient for thy shoals
Was Carnival: Parini's depths enshrine
Secrets unsuited to that opaline
Surface of things which laughs along thy scrolls.
There throng the People: how they come and go,
Lisp the soft language, flaunt the bright garb, — see, —
On Piazza, Calle, under Portico
And over Bridge! Dear king of Comedy,
Be honored! Thou that didst love Venice so,
Venice, and we who love her, all love thee!

"Venice, Nov. 27, 1883."

Good to forgive. The opening words of the prologue

to *La Saisiaz*. In the second series of *Selections* from his poems made by Browning, 1880, this poem is published as III. under the general title of *Pisgah-Sights*.

Grammarian's Funeral, A, Shortly after the Revival of Learning in Europe. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

This poem is not based on any historical incident, though it gives a faithful description of the love of learning of the time mentioned in the title, as manifested in the pioneers of the Renaissance. Such men were Cyriac of Ancona, Filelfo, Pierre de Maricourt, and many other scholars. The word "grammarian" then had a larger meaning than now, for it signified a student in the wider sense, one devoted to letters or general learning. The aim of this poem, says R. H. Hutton in his *Literary Essays*, "is to bring out the strong implicit faith in an eternal career, which there must be in any man who devotes his life wholly to the preliminary toil of mastering the rudiments of language."

The speaker is the leader of the company who are bearing the Grammarian to his grave. The parts in parenthesis are the directions of the leader to his companions as they pass up the mountain with the corpse. His diseases are mentioned as *Calculus*, the stone; *Tussis*, a cough; *hydroptic*, dropsical. — *Hoti* is the Greek particle ὅτι, that, etc. — *Oun* is the Greek particle οὖν, then, now then, etc. — *The enclitic De* is the Greek δε, which Browning refers to in a letter to the London *Daily News* of Nov. 21, 1874: "To the Editor: Sir, — In a clever article this morning you speak of 'the doctrine of enclitic De' — 'which, with all deference to Mr. Browning, in point of fact does not exist.' No, not to Mr. Browning: but pray defer to Herr Buttmann, whose fifth list of 'enclitics' ends with 'the inseparable *De*' — or to Curtius, whose fifth list ends also with '*De* (meaning '*towards*' and as a demonstrative appendage).' That this is not to be confounded with the accentuated 'De, meaning *but*' was the 'doctrine' which the Grammarian bequeathed to those capable of receiving it. — I am, sir, yours obediently, R. B."

Guardian-Angel, The. A Picture at Fano. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Fano is a town of about twenty thousand inhabitants,

situated on the Adriatic, in Italy, thirty miles to the north of Ancona, and in the province known as the Marches. It has a cathedral, several churches, in which are many fine paintings, an opera-house, a library, an academy, and it manufactures silk ribbon extensively. Many of the best pictures of Guido and Domenichino are to be found in Fano.

Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, known as Guercino, because of a squint, was born at Cento, near Bologna, in 1590. He early showed a great capacity for art, and followed the manner of Michel Angelo da Caravaggio, which he afterwards changed for one more natural and powerful. He founded an academy at Cento, and many disciples collected about him. He traveled through every part of Italy in the exercise of his profession, and as he worked with rapidity and skill, he left in nearly every city some product of his genius. After the death of his friend Guido, he moved from Cento to Bologna, where he died in 1666. He was a man of noble character, and beloved by those who knew him. His best pictures are in Rome, but others are to be found at Modena, Parma, and in other cities. His best pictures show striking effects of light and shade, as well as dignity and force.

The poem was written at Ancona, the capital of the Marches, which is situated on the Adriatic. It has a population of about fifty thousand, and is the principal commercial city on the eastern coast of Italy. The poem is addressed to Alfred Domett, who was then in New Zealand. For an account of this friend of Browning's see *Waring*, in this volume.

The picture which Browning describes, called *L' Angelo Custode*, is in the church of St. Augustine at Fano; and it "represents an angel standing with outstretched wings by a little child. The child is half-kneeling on a kind of pedestal, while the angel joins its hands in prayer; its gaze is directed upwards towards the sky, from which cherubs are looking down." It is not regarded as one of his chief pictures, but it interested Browning because of the subject, and its simple pathos.

Taine, in his *Italy: Rome and Naples*, thus describes two of the pictures of Guercino which are in Rome: "The principal one," he says, "is an enormous picture of Saint

Petronia. The body is being taken out of the ground while the soul is rising into Paradise. This is a composite work; the artist, according to the practice of schools not primitive, having assembled together three or four kinds of effect. He addresses the eye with powerful contrasts of light and dark, and with the rich draperies of the saint and her betrothed. He imitates so literally as to produce illusion: the little boy holding the taper is of striking fidelity — you have met him somewhere in the streets; the two powerful men raising the body have all the vulgarity and masculine energy of their profession. He is dramatic: the humble attitude of the saint in heaven is charming, and the head crowned with roses furnishes a contrast to the tragic heaviness of the corpse envolved in its winding-sheet; the aspect of Christ is tender and affectionate, and not, as elsewhere, a simple form. The entire subject — death, cold and lugubrious, contrasted with a happy triumphant resurrection — serves to arrest the attention of the multitude and excite its emotion."

This poem was written during the first summer the Brownings spent in Italy. They found the summer of 1847 too hot in Florence for their comfort, and they journeyed to Ancona. They did not find the heat less, but a happy summer was spent. With his wife by his side Browning went three times to see Guercino's picture; and the poem grew out of these studies.

Guendolen Tresham. The cousin and devoted friend of Mildred Tresham, in *A Blot on the 'Scutcheon*.

Guiseppe Caponsacchi. The young and noble canon of Arezzo who aids Pompilia, in *The Ring and the Book*, to escape from the house of Count Guido her husband, and conducts her to the home of her parents in Rome. His statement forms the sixth book of the poem.

Gypsy. The woman, in *The Flight of the Duchess*, who has a secret interview with the Duchess, fascinates her, gives her some secret communication, and causes her to take her flight.

Halbert and Hob. *Dramatic Idyls*, First Series, 1879.

The basis of this story is an anecdote related by Aristotle in his *Ethics*, Book VII. chap. vi. section 5, where he

is discoursing of anger and its hereditary manifestations. "Anger and asperity," he says, "are more natural than excessive and unnecessary desires. It is like the case of the man who defended himself for beating his father, and he again beat his; and he also (pointing to his child) will beat me, when he becomes a man; for it runs in our family. And he that was dragged by his son, bid him stop at the door, for that he himself had dragged his father so far." "The style of this idyl," says Mr. R. H. Hutton, "seems expressly made to reflect the passing ferocity of the Yorkshire boors."

Heap cassia, sandal-buds, and stripes. The opening words of the second song in *Paracelsus*, vol. i. p. 90, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works*.

Helen's Tower. At the request of the Earl of Dufferin and Clandeboye, Browning wrote this poem. When the Earl reached the age of twenty-one he erected on a rock situated on his estate at Clandeboye, Ireland, a tower in memory of his mother, Helen, Countess of Giffard. The poem was printed in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of December 28, 1883; in the fifth number of the *Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 97*; and in an appendix to volume six of the Riverside edition of Browning's *Works*, 1889.

HELEN'S TOWER.

Ἑλένη ἐπὶ πύργου.

Who hears of Helen's Tower, may dream perchance
How the Greek Beauty from the Scæan Gate
Gazed on old friends unanimous in hate,
Death-doom'd because of her fair countenance.

Hearts would leap otherwise, at thy advance,
Lady, to whom this Tower is consecrate!
Like hers, thy face once made all eyes elate,
Yet, unlike hers, was bless'd by every glance.

The Tower of Hate is outworn, far and strange:
A transitory shame of long ago,
It dies into the sand from which it sprang;
But thine, Love's rock-built Tower, shalt fear no change:
God's self laid stable earth's foundations so,
When all the morning-stars together sang.

April 26, 1870.

Henry, Earl Mertoun. The lover of Mildred Tresham, in *A Blot on the 'Scutcheon*, who is stabbed by her brother, Earl Tresham, when he is discovered escaping from her window.

Here 's to Nelson's Memory. See *Nationality in Drinks.*

Heretic's Tragedy, The; A Middle-Age Interlude. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

In the note following the title the author says this poem is "a glimpse from the burning of Jacques du Bourg-Molay at Paris, A. D. 1314, as distorted by the refraction from Flemish brain to brain, during the course of a couple of centuries." Molay was the last Grand Master of the Knights Templars, one of the most powerful and popular of Middle-Age military organizations. The Knights Templars, or "Poor Fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ," or "the Knighthood of the Temple of Solomon," as they called themselves, were organized very early in the twelfth century, as a result of the crusades and the conquest of Jerusalem. They were a secular order intimately bound to the Church, and devoted to service in rescuing the Holy Land from the infidel. So long as the crusades continued they grew in wealth and honor, came to have much influence in the countries of Western Europe, and governed Jerusalem or Cyprus. When the crusading spirit ended a strong feeling arose against them, partly because they lost Jerusalem, and partly because the Western monarchs coveted their vast wealth. Philip IV. of France and Pope Clement V. joined to overthrow them, which they did by bringing many false charges against them, accusing them of the basest crimes. Many of them were burned, and their property was confiscated. Without doubt many of them had become very corrupt, though base motives influenced their enemies.

Molay and three other officers of the order were imprisoned in Paris for many months. Two of them acknowledged that their order was in the wrong, and were pardoned; but Molay and another nobleman, the Grand Preceptor of the order, were burned. In March, 1314, the four were taken from their prisons, loaded with chains, and brought to the place of execution. A confession was read,

to which they were asked to assent. When the Grand Master was called upon to make confession, he refused so to do. "I do," he said, "confess my guilt, which consists in having to my shame and dishonor, suffered myself, through the pain of torture and the fear of death, to give utterance to falsehoods, imputing scandalous sins and iniquities to an illustrious order, which hath nobly served the cause of Christianity. I disdain to seek a wretched and disgraceful existence by engrafting another lie upon the original falsehood." Here he was interrupted, and, with his faithful companion, the Grand Preceptor, who also declared his own innocence, he was hurried back to prison. The same day King Philip ordered their execution, and they were burned to death in a slow and lingering manner upon small fires of charcoal. Further particulars may be found in Woodhouse's *Military Religious Orders of the Middle Ages*, and in C. G. Addison's *Knights Templars*. Browning tells this history through the medium of two hundred years of legend and bitter prejudice; and he thus makes it one of the most remarkable of his studies in the grotesque.

Hervé Riel. Written at Le Croisic, France, September 30, 1867, and published in *Cornhill Magazine*, March, 1871. The poet was paid £100 for it, which sum he contributed to the Paris Relief Fund, to send food to Paris after that city was besieged by the Germans. In 1876 it was reprinted in *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*.

Le Croisic is a small fishing village near the mouth of the Loire, and it was the home of Hervé Riel. See *Two Poets of Croisic*, in this volume, for a description of the village. The poem correctly tells the story of this hero, with the one exception that his holiday to see his wife was for the remainder of his life, instead of for one day. Dr. Furnivall says that "the facts of the story had been forgotten and were denied at St. Malo, but the reports of the French Admiralty at the time were looked up, and the facts established." This report says of the recompense asked by Hervé Riel: "Ce brave homme ne demanda pour récompense d'un service aussi signalé, qu'un congé absolu pour rejoindre sa femme, qu'il nommait la belle Aurore." The battle of La Hogue was fought on May 19, 1692, in the

war begun by Louis XIV. to secure his succession to the Palatinate. Several nations combined against France under the name of the "Grand Alliance"; and the battle of La Hogue was fought by two of these, England and Holland, their combined fleet being under the command of Admiral Russell. This battle was one of very great importance, because it took the mastery of the sea from France and gave it to Holland and England.

Louis XIV. fitted out a large expedition under Admiral Tourville for a descent upon England, with the purpose of restoring James II. to the English throne. The battle was fought between the Isle of Wight and the peninsula of La Manche, and was witnessed from the Normandy shore by James. The English were victorious, destroying a large part of the French fleet. The incident of the poem is that of the saving of a number of vessels by Hervé Riel, by piloting them through the shallows of the river Rance as they were flying to St. Malo. It was thought impossible to sail the ships up the river, even by those most familiar with it, but Hervé Riel, a Breton sailor, was able to do it, and thus to save the fleet from destruction. Damfreville was the commander of the largest of these ships. St. Malo and La Hogue are on the north coast of Normandy, St. Malo being almost directly across the peninsula from Le Croisic.

See the account of Hervé Riel in the *Promenade au Croisic*, by Gustave Grandpré, iii. 186, and *Notes sur le Croisic*, a "Croisic Guide-book," by Caillo Jeune, p. 67.

Holy-Cross Day. On which the Jews were forced to attend an annual Christian Sermon in Rome. *Men and Women*, 1855; *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868. Written in Rome in the winter of 1853–1854.

One of the Jews attending the sermon is the speaker. The extract from the "Diary by the Bishop's Secretary, 1600," is a part of the satire of the piece, and was written by Browning. The special incidents of the poem are not historical; but it is historical that such a sermon was preached. Browning says in a note at the end of the poem that "Pope Gregory XVI. abolished this bad business of the sermon." George S. Hillard, in his *Six Months in Italy*, written in 1853, says: "By a bull of Gregory XIII.,

in the year 1584, all Jews above the age of twelve years were compelled to listen every week to a sermon from a Christian priest; usually an exposition of some passage of the Old Testament, and especially those relating to the Messiah, from the Christian point of view. This burden is not yet wholly removed from them; and to this day, several times in the course of a year, a Jewish congregation is gathered together in the church of St. Angelo in Pescheria, and constrained to listen to a homily from a Dominican friar, to whom, unless his zeal have eaten up his good feelings and his good taste, the ceremony must be as painful as to his hearers." The Ghetto is the name given to the Jews' quarter in Rome and other cities.

Home Thoughts, from Abroad. Published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, the seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. As there published three poems were included under this title: I. "Oh, to be in England"; II. "Here 's to Nelson's Memory"; III. "Nobly Cape St. Vincent." In the *Poems* of 1849 the first of these pieces only appeared under the title of *Home Thoughts from Abroad;* and in all subsequent editions it has been so published. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was put among the *Lyrics*, which in 1868 became *Dramatic Lyrics.*

Home Thoughts, from the Sea. Published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. It there appeared as the third part of *Home Thoughts, from Abroad.* In the *Poems* of 1849 it was published by itself, under its present title. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was classed under the head of *Lyrics*, but in 1868 it took its place among the *Dramatic Lyrics*, which it has since held.

The poem was suggested by Cape Trafalgar and Gibraltar, and the victory of Nelson over the combined fleets of Spain and France.

House. *Pacchiarotto, with Other Poems*, 1876.

An answer to those critics who ask that the poet should make his poems reflect his own personal life. It contains the same idea as Wordsworth's sonnet on the sonnet, though probably not suggested by it. Mrs. Orr, Fotheringham, and Symons have brief interpretations.

Householder, The. This poem is the epilogue to

Fifine at the Fair, and sums up the teaching of what has preceded.

How it strikes a Contemporary. *Men and Women*, 1855.

The speaker is a Spanish gentleman, while the names and the scenery are Spanish. This is the earliest of Browning's poems in which he interprets his poetical ideas or his conception of poetry as an art. He treats the same subject in *Transcendentalism*, *Memorabilia*, and *Popularity*, which were also published in *Men and Women*. Later, he returned to the same theme in the epilogue to *Dramatic Idyls*, the epilogue to *Pacchiarotto*, and in *At the Mermaid*. *The Two Poets of Croisic* is a quite thorough discussion of the functions of the poetic art. His introductory essay to the letters of Shelley interprets his own poetical ideas, and especially his desire to reconcile the objective and the subjective phases of the poetic art. The essays in Corson's *Introduction to Browning*, and the chapter on his theory of art in Alexander's *Introduction to Browning's Poetry*, clearly interpret the poetical theories of our poet. The two essays in Mr. Edward Dowden's *Studies in Literature* which treat of Browning give a good idea of his philosophy of poetry.

In the Shelley essay Browning puts his theory of poetry into these words: "The whole poet's function [is that] of beholding with an understanding keenness the universe, nature, and man, in their actual state of perfection in imperfection — being untempted, by the manifold partial developments of beauty and good on every side, into leaving them the ultimates he found them, — induced by the facility of the gratification of his own sense of those qualities, or by the pleasure of acquiescence in the short-comings of his predecessors in art, and the pain of disturbing their conventionalisms, — the whole poet's virtue, I repeat, [is that] of looking higher than any manifestation yet made of both beauty and good, in order to suggest from the utmost actual realization of the one a corresponding capability in the other, and out of the calm, purity, and energy of nature, to reconstitute and store up for the forthcoming stage of man's being, a gift in repayment of that former gift, in which man's own thought and passion had been lavished by the

poet on the else-incompleted magnificence of the sunrise, the else uninterpreted mystery of the lake, — so drawing out, lifting up, and assimilating this ideal of a future man, thus descried as possible, to the present reality of the poet's soul already arrived at the higher state of development, and still aspirant to elevate and extend itself in conformity with its still-improving perceptions of, no longer the eventual Human, but the actual Divine."

How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix. In a letter published in the *Literary World*, March 12, 1881, vol. 12, p. 104, Browning says to an American inquirer about this poem: "There is no sort of historical foundation for the poem about 'Good News from Ghent.' I wrote it under the bulwark of a vessel, off the African coast, after I had been at sea long enough to appreciate even the fancy of a gallop on the back of a certain good horse 'York,' then in my stable at home. It was written in pencil on the fly-leaf of Bartoli's *Simboli*, I remember." It was published in 1845, in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, the seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*. In 1863 it appeared in the *Lyrics*, and in 1868 it was put under the head of *Dramatic Lyrics*.

Although there is no historical foundation for this ride from Ghent to Aix, there was probably in the mind of Browning, when he wrote the poem, that event in the history of the Netherlands known as the "Pacification of Ghent," which took place in 1576. This was a union of Holland, Zealand, and the southern Netherlands, under the leadership of William of Orange, in order that they might carry on more successfully their struggle against Philip II. of Spain. See Motley's *Rise of the United Netherlands*, vol. iii. For notes on the places passed through on the ride see Rolfe's *Select Poems of Robert Browning*, p. 164. Set to music by Helen J. Ormerod; London, Forsyth Brothers.

Humility. *Asolando*, 1889.

I am a painter who cannot paint. The opening words of the speech of Lutwyche in *Pippa Passes*, vol. i. p. 347, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works*.

I go to prove my soul. These words are spoken by Paracelsus in the poem by that name, part I. p. 40, l. 1. Set to music by Ethel Harraden; London, C. Jeffreys.

"Imperante Augusto Natus Est — " *Asolando*, 1889.

Two Romans of the time of Augustus, the first emperor, are about to enter the bath. One of them relates to his friend Publius how the poet Varius praised Augustus as a god, and how he once met the emperor when he was disguised as a beggar.

Caius Octavius succeeded Julius Cæsar, whose nephew he was, as the ruler of Rome, though he had to conquer the right to supreme authority. He was made Augustus in 27 B. C., and died in A. D. 14. He was a great ruler, gave peace to Rome, built great public works, and was a man of intellectual tastes.

Lucius Varius Rufus was perhaps born in 64 B. C. and died in A. D. 9. He was for a few years regarded as the chief epic poet of Rome, but when Virgil began to write he turned his attention to tragedy. He was jealously devoted to Julius Cæsar, and became popular as a poet on account of the epic poem he wrote on Cæsar's death. When Augustus triumphed at the battle of Actium over his powerful enemies the *Thyestes* of Varius was acted, and the poet received for it one million sesterces. This tragedy was highly praised by Quintilian, who said it would bear comparison with the works of the Greek tragic poets. He wrote a *Panegyric* on Augustus, which is lost, but two lines of which are quoted by Horace in the first of his *Epistles*. It is this poem, full of praise and adulation, to which Browning alludes. Varius is principally known as having been the editor of the *Æneid* after the death of Virgil, in company with Plotius Lucca.

The little Flaccus who laughed at the panegyric by Varius was probably Horace, whose name was Horatius Flaccus. — *Mæcenas* was the chief adviser of Augustus, who ruled Rome and Italy whenever Augustus was absent, a man skillful in business, a capable ruler, immensely rich, and the patron of literary men. He loved pleasure and luxury, cultivated literature, and devoted himself to matters of taste and refinement. Among his intimate friends were Virgil, Horace, and Varius.

The poem outlines the events in the life of Augustus, and describes his great services to Rome. It also describes his

habit of going about the city disguised as a beggar. At the end the poem refers to the story told in the *Lexicon* of Suidas, who describes a visit which Augustus made to the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. "Augustus having sacrificed," says Suidas, "asked Pythia who should reign after him; and the oracle answered: —

> "'A Hebrew slave, holding control over the blessed gods,
> Orders me to leave this house, and return to the underworld.
> Depart in silence, therefore, from our altars.'"

What is thus told by Suidas was sometimes expressed by the Christians as referring to the birth of a child who should overthrow the power of Augustus. Nicephorus relates that when Augustus returned to Rome after receiving this response from the oracle he erected an altar in the Capitol with the inscription, "Ara Primogeniti Dei."

The oracle at Delphi bore the name of Sibyl on some occasions. Virgil says Sibylla was a priestess of Apollo. Polyhistor says that she wrote hymns to Apollo, and that she called herself the wife or sister of that god.

In a Balcony. This drama was begun at Bagni di Lucca, or the baths of Lucca, while the poet was walking alone through the forest glades, in the summer of 1853, and brought to its present state the following winter in Rome. It was the last of the dramatic works written by Browning, and was not fully completed. Published in *Men and Women*, 1855. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was put among the plays with the title, *In a Balcony — A Scene.* The present title was restored in the *Poetical Works* of 1868.

This play was put upon the stage by the London Browning Society, at the Prince's Hall, on Friday evening, Nov. 28, 1884, with Miss Alma Murray as Constance, Miss Nora Gerstenberg as the Queen, and Mr. Philip Beck as Norbert. In the *Academy* of Dec. 6, Mr. Frederick Wedmore gave an account of the performance. He said: "The audience included many of the most intelligent and a few of the most sympathetic people in London, and so the piece not only interested but charmed. *In a Balcony*, on the stage as in the study, is for the few, not for the many. It was thoroughly worth doing, however, on Friday night. It was an immense pleasure to those to whom it was a pleasure at all. . . . Miss Murray's Constance was nothing less than a

great performance, instinct with intelligence, grace, and fire. The more exacting was the situation, the more evident became the capacity of the actress to grapple with it. It was the performance of an artist who had thought of all the part contained, and had understood it — who knew how to compose a rôle as a whole, and how to execute it, alike in its least and in its most important detail. It is long since our stage has seen an interpretation more picturesque or more moving." *The Pall Mall Gazette* of Dec. 1, and *The Academy* of Dec. 6, contained notices of the performance. *The Browning Society's Papers*, number seven, 2 : 5*, contains several of the newspaper accounts.

The plot of *In a Balcony* is entirely original, no place or time being indicated. The first part of the play was not written ; and it evidently begins at about the middle of the plot. The queen who loved a poet hump-backed and dwarfed may perhaps refer to François d'Aubigné, who married the poet Scarron, and who afterwards became the wife and the all but queen of Louis XIV.

The Browning Society's Papers, number five, 1 : 499 and 1 : 130*, has an analysis and interpretation of the play, by Mrs. Turnbull. Miss Burt's chapter on brave women, in her *Browning's Women*, is in part devoted to Constance and the Queen.

In a Gondola. John Forster, Browning's intimate friend, reported to him a picture by Daniel Maclise which he had seen, called *The Serenade*, and which he described to Browning. As a result of this description Browning wrote the first stanza of this poem impromptu. When he had seen the picture he thought it deserved a more complete treatment, and wrote the poem as we now have it. Dickens mentions the poem in one of his letters written in 1844, printed in Forster's *Life*, from which it would appear that it was written in Lincoln's Inn Fields. See *Browning Bibliography*, and Forster's *Life of Charles Dickens*, vol. ii. p. 365.

This poem was first published in *Dramatic Lyrics*, number three of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842, was classed under the head of *Romances* in the *Poetical Works* of 1863, and in 1868 was put among the *Dramatic Romances*, where it has since remained.

The poem is wholly imaginary, as are several of the persons alluded to; and among them *Schidone's eager Duke*, *Castelfranco's Magdalen*, and *Tizian.* — *Schidone* was an Italian painter of the sixteenth century, who worked in the manner of Correggio, and died in 1616. — *Haste-thee-Luke*, called by the Italians *Luca-fa-presto*, is Luca Giordano, a famous painter of the seventeenth century, 1632–1705. He worked very rapidly, painted a great number of pictures, and amassed wealth and fame. — *Castelfranco* is Giorgio Barbarelli, born in 1478, at Castelfranco. One or two incidents in his life, as described by Vasari, may have had some suggestion for the poet in the writing of this poem. "Giorgio was," says Vasari, "at a later period called Giorgione [big George], as well from the character of his person as from the exaltation of his mind; he was of extremely humble origin, but was nevertheless very pleasing in manner, and most estimable in character, through the whole course of his life. Brought up in Venice, he took no small delight in love-passages, and in the sound of the lute, to which he was so cordially devoted, and which he practised so constantly, that he played and sang with the most exquisite perfection, insomuch that he was, for this cause, frequently invited to musical assemblies and festivals by the most distinguished personages. . . . At this time he fell in love with a lady, who returned his affection with equal warmth, and they were immeasurably devoted to each other. But in the year 1511 it happened that the lady was attacked by the plague, when Giorgione also, not aware of this circumstance and continuing his accustomed visits, was also infected by the disease, and that with so much violence that in a very short time he passed to another life. This event happened in the thirty-fourth year of his age."

Inapprehensiveness. *Asolando*, 1887.

This poem, the result of a conversation with a friend, was written at Asolo. The ruin is the palace of the queen of Cyprus, Catherine Cornaro; in regard to which see *Asolando*. The subject is the incapacity of one soul to read the inmost thoughts of another. *Vernon Lee* is the pseudonym of Violet Paget, author of *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, *Belcaro*, *Ottilie*, *Euphorion*, and other works.

In a Year. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Incident of the French Camp. Published in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842. It was printed with the *Soliloquy of a Spanish Cloister*, under the general title of *Camp and Cloister*. In the *Poems* of 1849 it was printed by itself under its present title. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was classed among the *Romances*, which in 1868 became *Dramatic Romances;* and this place it has since held.

Mrs. Orr says the poem was founded on the following incident: "A boy soldier of the Army of Napoleon has received his death wound in planting the imperial flag within the walls of Ratisbon. He contrives by a supreme effort to gallop out to the Emperor — who has watched the storming of the city from a mound a mile or two away — fling himself from the horse, and, holding himself erect by its mane, announce the victory. No sign of pain escapes him. But when Napoleon suddenly exclaims: 'You are wounded,' the soldier's pride in him is touched. 'I am killed, Sire,' he replies; and, smiling, falls dead at the Emperor's feet. The story is true; but its actual hero was a man."

A careful and extended search has not elicited any other information concerning this incident. Ratisbon is a city of Bavaria, on the right bank of the Danube; also called Regensburg. The storming of Ratisbon took place in May, 1809, during Napoleon's Austrian campaign.

Inn Album, The. Published in 1875, by Smith, Elder and Co., London. Pages, i.–iv., 1–211.

The form of this poem is dialogue, with intervals of description. The main features of the story told are historical; but the poet has treated his materials in an independent manner, as best suited his poetic purpose. In *Notes and Queries*, for March 25, 1876, Dr. F. J. Furnivall thus mentions the incidents on which the poem is based: "The story told by Mr. Browning in this poem is, in its main outlines, a real one, that of Lord De Ros, once a friend of the great Duke of Wellington, and about whom there is much in the *Greville Memoirs*. The original story was, of course, too repulsive to be adhered to in all its details, of, first, the gambling lord producing the portrait of the lady he

had seduced and abandoned, and offering his expected dupe, but real beater, an introduction to the lady, as a bribe to induce him to wait for payment of the money he had won; secondly, the eager acceptance of the bribe by the young gambler and the suicide of the lady from horror at the base proposal of her old seducer. The story made a great sensation in London over thirty years ago.

"Readers of *The Inn Album* know how grandly Mr. Browning has lifted the base young gambler, through the renewal of that old love which the poet has invented, into one of the most pathetic creations of modern time, and has spared the base old roué the degradation of the attempt to sell the love which was once his delight, and which, in the poem, he seeks to regain, with feelings one must hope are real, as the most prized possession of his life. As to the lady, the poet has covered her with no false glory or claim on our sympathy. From the first, she was a law unto herself; she gratified her own impulses, and she reaped the fruit of this. Her seducer has made his confession of his punishment, and has attributed, instead of misery, comfort and ease to her. She has to tell him, and the young man who has given her his whole heart, that the supposed comfort and ease have been to her simply hell; and tell, too, why she cannot accept the true love that, under other conditions, would have been her way back to heaven and life. What, then, can be her end? No higher power has she ever sought. Self-contained, she has sinned and suffered. She can no more. By her own hand she ends her life, and the curtain falls on the most profoundly touching and most powerful poem of modern times."

The young girl of the poem is the invention of the poet; the other characters took part in the actual tragedy. In his *Memoirs*, first series, Greville mentions Lord De Ros from time to time, and they traveled together in Italy. Under date of "Newmarket, March 29th," 1839, Greville makes the following entry, in the first volume of the second series of his *Memoirs*, concerning the death of his friend: —

"Poor De Ros expired last night soon after twelve, after a confinement of two or three months from the time he returned to England. His end was enviably tranquil, and he bore his protracted sufferings with astonishing fortitude and

composure. Nothing ruffled his temper or disturbed his serenity. His faculties were unclouded, his memory retentive, his perceptions clear to the last; no murmur of impatience ever escaped him, no querulous word, no ebullition of anger or peevishness; he was uniformly patient, mild, indulgent, deeply sensible of kindness and attention, exacting nothing, considerate of others and apparently regardless of self, overflowing with affection and kindness of manner and language to all around him, and exerting all his moral and intellectual energies with a spirit and resolution that never flagged till within a few hours of his dissolution, when nature gave way and he sank into a tranquil unconsciousness in which life gently ebbed away. Whatever may have been the error of his life, he closed the scene with a philosophical dignity not unworthy of a sage, and with a serenity and sweetness of disposition of which Christianity itself could afford no more shining or delightful example. In him I have lost (half lost before) the last and greatest of the friends of my youth, and I am left a more solitary and a sadder man."

In a review of this poem published in the *Athenæum* Mr. J. A. Symonds said of it: "The raw material of a penny dreadful, such as the theme here is, requires more artistic manipulation than Mr. Browning has given it before it can be called a poem. Beauty of any kind is what he has carefully excluded. Vulgarity, therefore, is stamped upon *The Inn Album*, in spite of the ingenuity with which, by suppressing name and place and superfluous circumstances, the writer succeeds in presenting only the spiritual actions of his characters upon each other in spite of the marvelous scalpel-exercise of analysis which bares the most recondite motives, in spite of the intellectual brilliancy which gives a value to everything he has to say."

Mrs. Orr gives a careful analysis of the poem. The purpose of the author is discussed by Symons. See *Macmillan's Monthly*, 33 : 347; *The Nation*, Henry James, 22 : 49; *International Review*, Bayard Taylor, 3 : 402.

Instans Tyrannus. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

The *instans tyrannus* (threatening tyrant) of this poem was suggested by the opening verse of the third ode of the

third book of the *Odes* of Horace. In the translation of Sir Theodore Martin the first two stanzas read thus, the subject of the ode being the apotheosis of Romulus: —

> "He that is just, and firm of will,
> Doth not before the fury quake
> Of mobs that instigate to ill,
> Nor hath the tyrant's menace skill
> His fixed resolve to shake;
>
> "Nor Auster, at whose wild command
> The Adriatic billows dash,
> Nor Jove's dread thunder-launching hand;
> Yea, if the globe should fall, he 'll stand
> Serene amidst the crash."

In Three Days. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1845; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Italian in England, The. First published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845, under the title "Italy in England." In *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was classed with the *Romances* under the present title; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

This story is wholly imaginary, but it describes with historical fidelity the struggle of Italian liberals against Austrian oppression. The speaker is a prominent Italian leader who describes how he was hunted by the Austrians, and how he was saved by a peasant girl. He had reached England when he relates the adventure. Mrs. Orr says that Browning was proud to remember that Mazzini informed him he had read this poem to certain of his fellow-exiles in England to show how an Englishman could sympathize with them.

Ivàn Ivànovitch. *Dramatic Idyls*, First Series, 1879.

The startling incident of this poem is told in *The Englishwoman in Russia*, by a lady, London, 1855. She thus graphically relates it: "A dreadful anecdote was told me of a peasant woman and her children, who were crossing the forest that stretched for many miles between her isba and the neighboring village. They were in one of those small country sledges, in shape something like a boat, drawn by a single horse. Suddenly they heard a rustling sound among the trees; it was but faint at first, but it rapidly approached; the instinct of the affrighted steed told

him that danger was near at hand; he rushed on with redoubled speed. Presently the short yelp of a wolf aroused the mother; she started up and gazed around; to her horror she beheld a mighty pack of wolves sweeping across the frozen snow, in full cry upon their traces. She seized the whip, and endeavored by repeated blows to urge on the fear-stricken horse to even greater swiftness. The poor animal needed no incentive to hasten his steps, but his force was well-nigh spent; his convulsive gasping showed how painfully his utmost energies were exerted. But courage! there is hope! the village is in sight! far off, it is true, but we shall gain it yet! So thought the unhappy mother, as she cast a look of horror on the hungry savage beasts that were following in the rear, and saw that they were rapidly gaining upon her. Now they are near enough for her to see their open mouths and hanging tongues, their fiery eyes and bristling hair, as they rush on with unrelenting speed, turning neither to the right nor to the left, but steadily pursuing their horrible chase. At last they came near enough for their eager breathing to be heard, and the foremost was within a few yards of the sledge; the overspent horse flagged in his speed; all hope seemed lost, when the wretched woman, frantic with despair, caught up one of her three children and threw him into the midst of the pack, trusting by this means to gain a little time by which the others might be saved. He was devoured in an instant; and the famished wolves, whose appetites it had only served to whet, again rushed after the retreating family. The second and third infant were sacrificed in the same dreadful manner; but now the village was gained. A peasant came out of an isba, at sight of whom the wolves fell back. The almost insensible woman threw herself out of the sledge, and, when she could find sufficient strength to speak, she related the fearful danger in which she had been, and the horrible means she had employed to escape from it.

"'And did you *throw them all* to the wolves, even the little baby you held in your arms?' exclaimed the horror-stricken peasant.

"'Yes, all!' was the reply.

"The words had scarcely escaped from the white lips of the miserable mother, when the man laid her dead at his

feet with a single blow of the axe with which he was cleaving wood when she arrived. He was arrested for the murder, and the case was decided by the Emperor, *who pardoned* him, wisely making allowance for his agitation and the sudden impulse with which horror and indignation at the unnatural act had inspired him."

Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole, the author of a *History of Russia*, and the translator of Tolstoi and other Russian authors, furnishes for this work the following notes : —

"A *verst* is about .66 of a mile (3500 feet). — I take it the *highway broad and straight from the Neva's mouth to Moscow's gates of gold* must refer to the legend that when the first railroad was built from one city to the other, the Emperor Nicholas ordered that it should run absolutely straight, himself marking it with a ruler on the map. I do not think the old highway ran straight. — *Ivàn Ivànovitch* is equivalent to John Johnson, or more correctly Jack Jackson. *Ivàn* being the familiar of *Ioànn*, John. The ending *vitch*, however, is not exactly an equivalent to son; it really means father. — *Droug*, more correctly spelt *druk* (pronounced drook), means friend. — Browning's *motherkin* corresponds to the Russian *màtushka*, and is an endearing diminutive of *mat*, mother ; it is always applied to any old peasant woman ; it is a familiar form of address, often applied to any woman or even girl. — *Vassili* (accented by Browning incorrectly on the first syllable) should be spelt *Vasìli :* it is our Basil. — *Lukeria* is a colloquial form of *Glikeria*, *Glycera ;* the proper diminutive is *Lusha* and also *Lushka*. — Browning makes one odd mistake in the poem ; it would be impossible for the breath to go up straight when the people were riding fast in a Russian sledge. — He speaks of *twin pigeons ;* the most familiar term of endearment in Russian is *golùbchik*, which is the diminutive of the word for pigeon. — *Stiòpka* is the proper diminutive of *Stepàn*, Stephen ; the *io* merely represents the sound of the *e* (as in yelk) with which it is written in Russian. — *Pope* should not be with a capital ; it simply means priest. — *Marpha* should be spelt *Marfa* ; it is our Martha, but the Russians cannot pronounce *th ;* they represent it by *f*. — *Pomeschìk* should be *pomyèschik ;* it means merely a landed proprietor. — *Stàrosta* is correctly accented ; it is

the bailiff of a village, also overseer, inspector; it merely means old man (from *stàrost*, old age, *star*, old.) — *Kremlin* is better *kreml;* it is any fortress, but especially the fortress of Moscow. — *Kàtia* is the diminutive of *Yekaterìna*, Katherine. — *Kòlokol* is pronounced as though it were two syllables, accent on the first. — I am not certain about the correctness of *Teriòscha.* It should have no *c:* nor should *Stèscha.*"

See *The Browning Society's Papers*, number seven, 2 : 29*.

Ixion. *Jocoseria.* 1883.

Ixion, one of the Greek mythological personages, is described in the *Odyssey* of Homer, and in the *Georgics* of Virgil, as well as by other classic authors. According to the common tradition he was the son of Phlegyas; his wife was a daughter of Deianeus. He was king of the Lapithae or Phlegyae, and the father of Peirithous. When Deianeus demanded of Ixion the bridal gifts he had promised, Ixion treacherously invited him as if to a banquet, and then contrived to make him fall into a pit filled with fire. All the gods were indignant at Ixion for this cruel murder, and no one of them would purify him until Zeus did so. Then Zeus invited Ixion to his table; but the latter was ungrateful, and attempted to secure the love of Hera. When Zeus knew of this he made an apparition resembling his wife, who became the mother of a centaur. This centaur became the father of the hippocentaurs by the Magnesian mares. In order that Ixion might be punished for his crime, and for his want of gratitude, Hermes chained him by his hands and feet to a wheel that was fiery or winged. This wheel constantly rolled through the air in the lower world. Ixion was also scourged, and compelled constantly to repeat these words, " Benefactors should be honored."

Browning has used this myth in a manner of his own, for he makes Ixion represent man's righteous revolt, in the spirit of Prometheus, against the tyranny of an unjust God. He becomes the expounder of defeat as the true means to the highest success, when the defeat results from spiritual heroism.

See Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*, which gives an extended interpretation of the poem.

Jacopo. The devoted secretary of the Moorish commander of the Florentine army, in *Luria*.

Jacynth. The attendant of the Duchess, in *The Flight of the Duchess*, whose sleep enables the old gypsy woman to fascinate her mistress and secure her flight.

James Lee's Wife. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864; but with the title *James Lee*. Section VI. was first printed in 1836, as *Lines*, signed "Z." in *The Monthly Repository*, edited by W. J. Fox. In the *Poetical Works*, 1868, the present title was adopted, probably because it is the wife who is the speaker throughout. The sub-titles were also changed, and additions were made to the poem. In 1864 the title of section one was *At the Window*, and section six was called *Under the Cliff*. The whole of parts two and three of the eighth section were added in 1868, with the exception of the last two lines of the third part. In the *Selections* of 1872 slight changes were made.

See an analysis and interpretation of the poem by Rev. H. J. Bulkeley, *The Browning Society's Papers*, part four, 1 : 455 and 1 : 74*. Each section of the poem is analyzed, and the whole poem is explained in a helpful way. Miss Mary E. Burt's *Browning's Women*, second chapter, discusses the intellectual characteristics of this woman. Set to music by E. C. Gregory : London, Novello, Ewer & Co. Section first, under the title of *Wilt Thou change too?* has been set to music by Ethel Harraden ; London, C. Jeffreys.

Jochanan Hakkadosh. *Jocoseria*, 1883.

This poem is a piece of poetic invention, although it has the appearance of having been drawn from the *Talmud*. Browning has given various realistic touches to the poem by means of quotations, historic references, and the biographic details. Mrs. Orr says : "Mr. Browning professes to rest his narrative on a Rabbinical work, of which the title, given by him in Hebrew, means 'Collection of many lies;' and he adds, by way of supplement, three sonnets, supposed to fantastically illustrate the old Hebrew proverb, 'from Moses to Moses [Moses Maimonides] never was one like Moses,' and embodying as many fables of wildly increasing audacity. The main story is nevertheless justified by traditional Jewish belief ; and Mr. Browning has made it the

vehicle of some poetical imagery and much serious thought." See the letter from Browning under *Jocoseria* in this volume.

During the first and second centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem several Rabbis bore the name of *Jochanan*, which is variously spelled, Johanan, Jochanan, and Yochanan. — *Hakkadosh* means "The Holy," and in the *Talmud* it is especially applied to Rabbi Judah II., the patriarch or president of the Sanhedrin at the beginning of the third century after Christ.

Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai was a pupil of Hillel. He was a member of the Sanhedrin, and had an academy in Jerusalem. After the destruction of the city he went to Jabné, near Joppa, and there opened a great school. He was the leader of the Jews at this time, and the president of the Sanhedrin. He severed Judaism from the sacrificial worship and gave it an independent spiritual signification. He introduced nine regulations for its better guidance, according to tradition. He was the founder of Talmudic Judaism.

Rabbi Jochanan ben Napaha lived from 199 to 279, and he was one of the leading teachers of his time. Many legends, according to Graetz, are told of his death, in a special treatise. He was one of the principal teachers whose sayings are embodied in the *Talmud*.

Jochanan ben Shabathai is fictitious.

Page 211. *Mishna* means "doctrine," and is applied to those ordinances or regulations which became necessary under the new conditions which grew up after the destruction of Jerusalem. See McClintock and Strong.

211. *Schiphaz*. An imaginary city, as *Tsaddik* is an imaginary individual.

214. *Targum*. A paraphrase or translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Aramaic, with the Talmudic interpretations.

215. *The Bier* and *Three Daughters*. Jewish names for the constellation of the Great Bear. In Jami's *Salámán and Absál* there is a mention of "Mourners of the Bier," which Fitzgerald explains as the Pleiades and the Great Bear.

216. *Akiba*. A rabbi of the generation following the

destruction of Jerusalem, who first established the principles on which the *Mishna* was formed. He was the leading teacher of Judaism at the time of the revolt under Barcokheba; and after its close he was made a prisoner, treated with great severity, and was flayed with iron pincers. During this horrible torture he repeated the words of his faith, the "Shema" or declaration of the unity of God.

216. *Jischab.* Another martyr of the same period.

215. *Salem.* The new and mystical Jerusalem, which, according to the teachings of Judaism, was being formed by the spirits of the pure and holy. — *Ruach.* Spirit or soul.

213. *Khubbezleh.* A name invented by the poet.

216. *The Ten.* Ten martyrs under Hadrian. See Graetz, p. 132.

219. Verse five is taken from *The Ethics of the Fathers.*

222. *Djinn.* The Arabic original of "genie," a supernatural creature.

223. *Edom.* The Talmudic name for Rome or Christianity.

228. *Mizraim.* The Hebrew name for Egypt.

230. *Shushan.* The Hebrew for "Lily."

231. *Tohu-bohu.* Void and waste; Genesis i. 2.

233. *Halafta.* The name of several Talmudic teachers. See *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 2 : 249.

234. *Og's thigh-bone.* Described in Baring-Gould's *Myths of the Patriarchs and Prophets.* Joseph Jacobs, in the *Jewish Quarterly Magazine*, has this to say: "Attached to *Jochanan Hakkadosh* are three sonnets on the well-known Talmudic Lügenmärchen, to use the folk-lore term, of the legend of Og's bones and bedstead. They are said to be from a work which I need scarcely say neither exists nor could exist under such a title. Much heart-breaking has been caused by the bad Hebrew of the title, but Browning would probably have given the Johnsonian explanation: 'Ignorance, madam, ignorance.' As some indication of the slightness of his acquaintance with Hebrew idiom, I may mention that he was going to call his Jochanan 'Hakkadosh Jochanan' (= John Saint). Through a common friend I pointed out the error of the poet, and the adjective was put in its proper position. The fact seems to me that Browning could read his Hebrew Bible, and that

was about the extent of his Hebrew learning, though it was a foible of his to give an impression of recondite learning."

Professor Toy, Harvard University, has furnished the author with the following notes: —

214. *Nine Points of Perfection.* The *Mishna* (tract *Pirke Aboth*, 5) speaks of 7 things which belong to perfection, and also lays stress on the numbers 10, 4, and 3. I know nothing of 9.

215. *Dob.* Hebrew word for "bear" (the animal) here used of the constellation of that name, but not so used in *Old Testament* or *Talmud.* —*Aish* (and so, p. 229, *Aisch*, which is the German spelling) is the Hebrew name for the *Great Bear.* The Arabic name is *na'sh*, "bier," and the tail-stars are called the "daughters of the bier," the mourners; so in Job xxxviii. 32 we have "the Bear and her children." Some scholars think that Hebrew *Aish* (or *Ash*) has the same meaning as Arabic *na'sh*, and so thinks Tsaddik here, with reference to Jochanan's illness. — *Banoth* means "daughters" in Hebrew; in Job xxxviii. 32, the masculine is used, *banim;* Arabic use the feminine, *banāt.*

216. *Akiba.* A famous rabbi, who took part in the insurrection of the false Messiah, Barcokhcba, under Hadrian (A. D. 132–135), and was captured; according to the *Mishna* his flesh was scraped from his bones by the Romans with an iron comb. — *Jischab.* The *Talmud* (*Gemara* of the tract *Aboda Zara*, fol. 18) reports the burning of Rabbi Chanina ben Teradion (somewhat after A. D. 130). There is no Yishab; but next to Chanina in the list of great teachers stands Yoshobeb, for which Yishab may here be put; in Hebrew these differ by a single consonant (ישבב and יושב).

217. *Perida.* The *Talmud* relates that he repeated his teaching to a dull pupil 400 times; and, he not then understanding, again 400 times; whereupon a *Bathkol* (supernatural voice — literally "daughter of the voice") declared that 400 (not 500) years should be added to his life.

219. *Tsaddik.* A Hebrew name = *Just.* Apparently not a historical person, but a name adopted by the poet for one of the pupils of Jochanan.

227. *The sons of Shimei.* An expression for "mockers," after David's enemy, 2 Sam. xvi. 5–8.

The basis of the poem is the Judaic belief that the *ruach* or spirit of saintly men survives three days after the time when death naturally takes place. This survival is accorded to them because of the holy lives which they have lived.

The *Talmud* has not been translated into English. Some knowledge of it may be acquired from Hershon's *Talmudic Miscellany;* Pick's *The Talmud: What is it?* Hurwitz's *Hebrew Tales;* and Graetz's *History of the Jews*, fourth volume.

Jocoseria. Published in March, 1883, by Smith, Elder and Co., London. Pages, 1–143. The Contents were as follows: Wanting is — What? Donald; Solomon and Balkis; Cristina and Monaldeschi; Mary Wollstonecraft and Fuseli; Adam, Lilith, and Eve; Ixion; Jochanan Hakkadosh; Never the Time and the Place; Pambo.

The title of this volume is mentioned in a foot-note to the *Note* at the end of *Paracelsus*, where the poet speaks of "such rubbish as Melander's *Jocoseria*." In a letter, accompanying a copy of the volume, sent to a friend, Browning wrote: "The title is taken from the work of Melander (Schwartzmann), reviewed, by a curious coincidence, in the *Blackwood* of this month [Feb. 1883]. I referred to it in a note to *Paracelsus*. The two Hebrew quotations (put in to give a grave look to what is mere fun and invention) being translated amount to (1) 'A Collection of Lies' [p. 233]; and (2), an old saying, 'From Moses to Moses arose none like Moses' [p. 234]."

Otho Schwartzmann (Græcised into Melander, according to the fashion of the age) was born in 1571, and died in 1640. Otho was the son of a Lutheran clergyman, graduated at Marbourg, and became a lawyer. In 1594 he published *Centuria Controversarum juris feudalis;* and in 1599 *Exegesis totius Studii Politici*. His *Joco-Seria* was a collection of stories both grave and gay. He drew from many sources ancient and modern, and from all countries. He had read much, and into his book he put all the good stories and anecdotes he could find. In telling some of these stories he was very grave, in others he tried to be very jocose and amusing, which accounts for his title. "Melander's *Joco-Seria* is a favorable specimen of a class of humorous *divertissement* with which scholars occasionally

entertained themselves in the days before Latin ceased to be the common language of literary intercourse. Melander's book, which, with large augmentations, was reissued three or four times in different forms, has happily varied the monotony of endless jests and comicalities by freely interspersing among them anecdotes of a graver kind. Outside the bounds of his professional studies as a lawyer, he seems to have been an extensive reader of miscellaneous literature, ranging from Italian romances to sermons and Biblical commentaries. In all his reading he certainly kept an eye open for an entertaining story. We are reminded of the *Percy Anecdotes*, by the numerous specimens given of the sayings and doings of princes and heroes of the world and of the Church. Thus we find Dionysius of Syracuse, Charlemagne, St. Anthony, Luther, The Grand Turk Solyman, St. Macarius, Charles V., Popes Leo X. and Julius III., Philip of Macedon, Henry VIII. of England, and scores of others, figuring in his pages. Another feature of the *Percy Anecdotes* we find anticipated in several stories illustrative of the intelligence and affection of animals." Melander also illustrated clerical life, the follies of women, the peculiarities of various professions, told old stories and jests in a new form, and had many anecdotes of witchcraft. He even wrote a book on the criminal process against witchcraft and the inadequacy of the water test. See *Blackwood's Magazine*, 133 : 267, for an interesting article on Melander's *Joco-Seria*.

See *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 93*; *National Review*, W. J. Courthope, 1 : 548; *The Atlantic Monthly*, 51 : 840; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, R. H. Shepherd, 254 : 624; *The Academy*, J. A. Symonds, 23 : 213; *The Athenæum*, March 24, 1883; *The Saturday Review*, 55 : 376; *The Spectator*, March 17, 1883.

Johannes Agricola in Meditation. First printed in *The Monthly Repository*, London, 1836, edited by W. J. Fox, with the title *Johannes Agricola*. It was signed "Z." Reprinted in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842, as I. under the general title *Madhouse Cells*. In *Poetical Works*, 1863, classed under *Romances*, and with present title; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868. On its first publication, after the title, appeared the following: —

"'Antinomians, so denominated for rejecting the Law as a thing of no use under the Gospel dispensation: they say, that good works do not further, nor evil works hinder salvation; that the child of God cannot sin, that God never chastiseth him, that murder, drunkenness, etc., are sins in the wicked but not in him, that the child of grace being once assured of salvation, afterwards never doubteth, . . . that God doth not love any man for his holiness, that sanctification is no evidence of justification, etc. Pontanus, in his *Catalogue of Heresies*, says John Agricola was the author of this sect, A. D. 1535.' *Dictionary of all Religions*, 1704."

Johannes Agricola (originally Schnitter or Schneider) was born at Eisleben, Germany, April 20, 1492, studied at Wittenberg, was Luther's secretary at the Leipsic council of 1519, established reformed worship at Frankfort in 1525, then was in Eisleben as teacher of the high school and as preacher. In 1536, through Luther's influence, he was made a professor at Wittenberg. Very soon after he began to give expression to opinions which he had previously promulgated to some extent, and which brought him into sharp collision with Luther. He taught, according to Köstlin, that "the proclamation of God's law was no necessary part of Christianity, as such, nor of the way of salvation prepared and revealed by Christ. The gospel of the Son of God, our Saviour, this alone should be proclaimed, and operate in touching the hearts of men and exposing the true character of their sins as sinfulness against the Son of God. In this way he sought to give full effect to the fundamental evangelical doctrine, that the grace of God alone had power to save through the joyful message of Christ. The personal vanity, however, which was the chief weakness of this gifted, intellectual, and fairly eloquent man displayed itself in his eccentricities of dogma." A reconciliation was brought about, but Luther withdrew his friendship from Agricola, who left Wittenberg in 1540. He went to Berlin, where he was made court preacher and superintendent of churches in Brandenburg. He died in 1566. He was the author of numerous theological works; and he made the first collection of German proverbs, which he accompanied with a commentary.

Browning does not correctly represent the teachings of Agricola, though his poem is correct so far as many Antinomians are concerned. Agricola held that the Law and the Gospel are incompatible, that the Law is only for the Jew, and that the spirit of Christ abolishes it for the Christian. The moral obligations, however, he held were for the Christian as much as for any other person. In the New Testament he found all the principles and motives necessary to give true impulse and guidance to the Christian. It was the use made of his teachings by fanatics which cast an odium on the name of Antinomians; and it is this fanatical and sentimental religion which Browning has interpreted correctly in his poem. Many of the Antinomians taught what is attributed to them in the *Dictionary of all Religions*, from which Browning quoted when his poem was first published.

Joris. The companion in the ride which brought the good news from Ghent to Aix.

Jules. The young French statuary who has been deluded into marrying Phene, in *Pippa Passes*.

Karshish. The Arab physician, in *An Epistle*, who describes the raising of Lazarus from the dead, and the change wrought in his character because of that experience.

King, The. This was the title given to a poem published in *The Monthly Repository*, edited by W. J. Fox, London, 1835. In 1841 it was incorporated into *Pippa Passes*, Act III., being the song, "A king lived long ago."

King Victor and King Charles. A Tragedy. *Bells and Pomegranates*, number two, 1842. The "advertisement" prefixed to this play, on its first publication, justifying the manner of treating the historical events of which it makes use, has been retained in all subsequent editions as a preface. *Poetical Works*, 1863, in second volume, containing "Tragedies and Other Plays."

Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy, was born in 1666, and succeeded his father, under the regency of his mother, in 1675. He married a niece of Louis XIV. of France, and his eldest daughter became the mother to Louis XV. He was an ambitious ruler, joined his forces with those of Austria, and built up for himself an independent kingdom. During the long war at the end of the seventeenth century, which Austria and Spain waged against France, he took the

side of Austria; his country was invaded by the French, but he showed himself a capable general and drove out his enemies. By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, his territory was added to, Savoy was recognized as an independent state, and he was made the king of Sicily. Though crowned in the same year, new arrangements with Austria caused him to give up Sicily, and he was made the king of Sardinia. He employed the peace which followed in promoting the internal interests of his country, advancing its agriculture, finances, and education. He was a great general and an able statesman. Few of the rulers of the period showed higher qualities of personal and political capacity. Sismondi says he was "the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious monarch of his age."

Victor was a man of a liberal spirit, for he protected the Waldenses, established a national system of education, and was the first ruler to expel the Jesuits from his dominions. He made the Turin University one of the most influential in Italy, and he established under it thirty-two colleges, and a system of popular education. He was admired and beloved by his people, who had unbounded confidence in him, and the strongest attachment to his person and to his house.

The following account of his closing years, and of the events made use of by Browning, is condensed from Antonio Gallenga's *History of Piedmont*. The career of Victor Amadeus was one of almost uninterrupted success, and his later years were crowned with unprecedented prosperity. At the close of a splendid day, however, came sorrow and gloom. He beat the best generals of his age and baffled the craftiest statesmen; but he could not subdue his own wayward impulses, morbid fancies, and strong passions. The end of his career constitutes one of the most affecting episodes in the annals of royalty.

In 1715, he lost his eldest son, Victor, in whom he had great pride. His daughter, the queen of Spain, died soon after. His heir was now Charles Emanuel, who had an ungainly exterior, and was never a favorite of the king. After the death of his queen, in 1728, Victor married Anna Teresa Canali, a widowed countess, and he made her marchioness of Spigno. Weariness of the world and a doting fondness for his new bride induced the king to abdi-

cate his throne in favor of his son. He observed the most elaborate ceremonies in this act of resignation. His people and his son supplicated him, even with tears, not to abdicate; but he adhered to his purpose. He was in the midst of preparations for the war in which Austria and France were the leaders; and it was surmised that his complications with these powers led to his abdication; but there was no truth in these statements.

After leaving the throne Victor took up his abode in the old castle of Chambéry, with his marchioness. Here *ennui* beset him, even the company of his lady not being sufficient to overcome it. He had an attack of apoplexy, which rendered his mental faculties feeble, and caused him to be irritable, and subject to violent fits of passion. The marchioness had set her heart on being a queen, no less than a king's consort, and she had no rest till she had stirred up Victor to seize again the crown he had voluntarily laid aside.

The king, his son, twice visited Victor in his retirement; and in the second interview, which took place in the summer of 1731, as Charles Emanuel accompanied his queen, Polyxena of Hesse, to the baths of Evian, he found his father querulous, captious, and dissatisfied with the policy pursued by the new government. Victor directed from Chambéry the councils of his son, and he, apparently, complained both that his instructions had not been literally followed, and that during and after his illness the communications of the ministers with him had suffered interruption.

Charles Emanuel quitted his father after three days, and proceeded to Evian; but he had scarcely arrived at this place when a young Savoyard priest, by name Michon, announced to him that, having been admitted to view the royal apartments at Chambéry, he had, by the sheerest chance, overheard a conversation between the old king and the marchioness, from which it was clear that they contemplated a journey to Turin, with a view to possess themselves of the royal authority.

Charles Emanuel lost no time in crossing the Alps, and followed the less frequented path of the little St. Bernard to avoid an encounter with his father on Mont Cenis. Through this latter mountain, in fact, the old king had

traveled with his best speed, but he nevertheless only reached Rivoli in time to hear the cannon announcing his son's arrival at the royal palace in the capital. Charles did not fail to pay his respects to his father on the morrow. Victor pleaded, as a reason for his return, his desire to live in a more genial climate than that of Savoy ; and the young king, who had in reality advised such a removal at the time of his stay in Chambéry, showed himself satisfied with his father's resolution, however sudden, and placed the castle of Moncalieri at Victor's disposal.

At Moncalieri the old king received the homage of his son's ministers, and gave vent in their presence to his ill-humor and dissatisfaction, and even allowed himself some harsh and threatening expressions against them. The marchioness, always by his side, gave herself queenly airs, and her demeanor to the young queen, both at Chambéry and at her new residence, gave Charles Emanuel the first hint of his father's intentions, while at the same time it obliged him, were it only out of regard to the royal lady who shared his throne, to frustrate them.

On the twenty-fifth of September, 1731, in the evening, Victor Amadeus sent for the Marquis del Borgo, and bade him deliver up the deed of abdication. The minister in the greatest perplexity gave some evasive answer, and hastened to convey to the king the unexpected demand. Charles Emanuel was a modest, submissive son ; a man of upright, pious, generous nature. His first impulse was, it seems, compliance with his father's wishes. Awakened from his sleep by del Borgo, he summoned his ministers around him, and with them the archbishop of Turin, Charles Arboreo of Gattinara, and other conspicuous personages. To these he communicated his father's desires, adding that he was ready for his own part to give his consent, but that he did not deem himself authorized to divest himself of the royal dignity without at least the knowledge of those in whose presence he had solemnly accepted it.

The king's lay advisors, not unmindful of Victor's threats, were terrified at the prospect of his return to power; they dared not nevertheless too openly to propose a son's rebellion against his father, and none of them ventured to break silence. The archbishop, Gattinara, strongly and at

full length demonstrated the unreasonableness of Victor's pretensions; when, at his persuasion, it was unanimously resolved that the tranquillity of the country did not admit of a repeal of the king's act of abdication.

Whilst they were yet deliberating, a note was handed to the king, by which the baron of St. Remy, commander of the citadel of Turin, announced that at midnight Victor had come from Moncalieri, on horseback, followed by a single aid-de-camp, and asked for admittance into the fortress. The commander had firmly but respectfully answered that the gates of the citadel could not be opened without an order from the king, whereupon the old king, in a towering passion, had turned his horse's head back to Moncalieri. This last proof of Victor's readiness to resort to extreme measures determined the still wavering minds in the king's council. An order of arrest against Victor was drawn up, which Charles Emanuel signed with trembling hand, with tears in his eyes.

The marquis of Ormea, who had been raised to power by the father, who now conducted the affairs of the son, and was more than any other man implicated in these fatal differences between them, took the warrant from Charles's reluctant hands, and on the night of the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of September repaired to Moncalieri. He had encompassed the castle with troops summoned from the neighborhood of the capital, and charged four colonels with the conduct of the dangerous expedition. These walked, without resistance, into the old king's apartments, where he was found plunged in one of his fits of lethargic sleep. The marchioness awoke and bounded up with a scream, but she was hurried away, and conveyed first to a nunnery at Carignano, then to a state prison, at the castle of Ceva. Not a few of her relatives and partisans were arrested in the course of the same night.

The chevalier Solaro, one of the colonels, next proceeded to possess himself of the king's sword, which lay on a table by his bedside; and at length succeeded, not without great difficulty, in breaking the king's heavy slumbers. Victor sat up in his bed; he looked hard at the faces of his disturbers, and inquired on what errand they came; on hearing it he burst into a paroxysm of fury; he refused to accompany

them, to dress, to rise from his bed. They had to wrap him in his bedclothes, and thus to force him from the chamber. The soldiers had been chosen for their character of reliable steadiness and discipline, but were not proof against the passionate appeals of the man who had so often led them to victory. Murmurs were heard from the midst of them, and a regiment of dragoons, addressed by Victor in the courtyard, gave signs of open mutiny. The colonel, count of Perosa, however, with great presence of mind, ordered silence, in the king's name, and under penalty of death, and drowned the old king's voice by a roll of the drums. They thus shut him up in one of the court carriages, into which he would admit no companion, and followed him on horseback, with a large escort, to the castle of Rivoli.

Rivoli was for some time a very hard prison to Victor Amadeus, with bars at the windows, a strong guard at the doors, and unbroken silence and solitude within. His ungovernable rage made him like a maniac; and he cracked a marble table with his fist in a paroxysm of anguish and fury. Melancholy followed, the rigor of his prison was relaxed, books, papers, and friends were allowed him, and at last the companionship of the marchioness. At his own request he was returned to Moncalieri; and he there began to prepare for approaching death. Through his confessor he begged for a last interview with his son. Charles Emanuel instantly ordered his carriage; but the ministers and the queen advised against the visit. The king shed tears, but the father and son never met again. Charles Emanuel never alluded to the final catastrophe of his father's life without visible signs of the most painful emotion. Victor died at Moncalieri on the thirty-first of October, 1732, at the age of sixty-six.

See Alexander. Polyxena, in this play, is put among the "brave women" by Miss Burt in her *Browning's Women.*

Laboratory, The. Ancien Régime. Published in *Hood's Magazine*, June, 1844. For the reason for this publication see *Nationality in Drinks.* In *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845, this poem and *The Confessional* were

printed under the general title of *France and Spain*. The *Poems* of 1849 reprinted this poem as *The Laboratory*. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was put among the *Lyrics*, which in 1868 became *Dramatic Lyrics*.

The speaker is a woman, the incident wholly imaginary. For interpretations see Mrs. Orr, Symons, and Fotheringham. The first water-color picture painted by D. G. Rossetti was taken from the scene in this poem where the girl asks the alchemist for poison.

Lady and the Painter, The. *Asolando*, 1889.

A defense of the nude, as against those who murder God's creatures in order to cover the body and adorn it.

La Saisiaz. A. E. S. September 14, 1877. This poem was published as the first part of the volume called *La Saisiaz: The Two Poets of Croisic*, which was issued in May, 1878, by Smith, Elder and Co., London. Pages, i.–viii., 1–201, the present poem occupying 5–82. The volume was "Dedicated to Mrs. Sutherland Orr." The proem to the whole volume begins "Good, to forgive," and is connected with the dedication. *La Saisiaz* was dated "Nov. 9, 1877," the day of its completion.

Browning made a journey to Switzerland in the autumn of 1877, accompanied by his sister and Miss Anne Egerton Smith, the proprietor of the Liverpool *Mercury*, and a great admirer of his poetry. They were spending a quiet holiday in a little place in the mountains near Geneva, and several delightful weeks had passed, when Miss Smith suddenly died in the manner described in the poem. This sudden departure of a friend of many years' standing turned the poet's thoughts towards the question of the future, and the poem was written soon after. The villa in which their vacation was spent bore the name of "La Saisiaz," which is the Savoyard for "the sun;" and thus the poem got its name. The events connected with the death of Miss Smith are fully described in the opening of the poem.

Mrs. Orr gives an excellent interpretation of the poem. In number eleven of *The Browning Society's Papers* is a long and thorough study of the poem by Rev. W. Robertson, who gives a careful analysis and interpretation.

Last Ride Together, The. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

For interpretation, see Nettleship's *Robert Browning: Essays and Thoughts*, essay on love poems.

Léonce Miranda. The Parisian jeweler, in *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*, who forms an illicit connection with Clara de Millefleurs, and on this account lives at St. Rambert, and finally throws himself from a tower on his estate and dies.

Levi Lincoln Thaxter. Mrs. Celia Thaxter wrote of her husband's admiration for Browning's poetry: "Mr. Thaxter's great admiration of Browning's genius developed in early youth, and he was already a devoted student of his poetry long before Browning's name had become familiar in this country. His enthusiasm was something beautiful, and it grew and strengthened with every year of his life. To his clear mind the poet's meaning was always perfectly intelligible, and he had the power of making others understand without an effort the subtleties of the master's most mystic utterances." Thaxter gave readings from Browning in Boston which were regarded as quite remarkable in the way of subtle interpretation. A boulder on the Maine seacoast marks his grave, and for this monument Browning wrote the following lines: —

"Levi Lincoln Thaxter. Born in Watertown, Massachusetts, February 1, 1824. Died May 31, 1884.

> "Thou, whom these eyes saw never! Say friends true
> Who say my soul, helped onward by my song,
> Though all unwittingly, has helped thee too?
> I gave of but the little that I knew:
> How were the gift requited, while along
> Life's path I pace, couldst thou make weakness strong!
> Help me with knowledge — for Life 's Old — Death 's New!
> "R. B. to L. L. T., April, 1885."

This poem was first printed in *Poet-Lore* for August, 1889, 1 : 398, an accurate copy being furnished for publication by Mrs. Thaxter.

Life in a Love. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Light Woman, A. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

Mrs. Orr gives a brief comment. The poem is mainly of interest for the poet's description of himself in the last stanza as "a writer of plays."

Likeness, A. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

Lines. Under this title a poem, signed "Z." was printed in *The Monthly Repository*, edited by W. J. Fox, 1836. See *James Lee's Wife*, into which it was incorporated, 1864.

Lost Leader, The. *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. *Poems*, 1849; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

It has been asserted that Wordsworth, Southey, or Charles Kingsley was meant by the poet, each of these men having become conservative in old age, after a youth of radical propagandism. According to *Notes and Queries*, fifth series, 1 : 213, Browning told Walter Thornbury and Jonathan Bouchier that Wordsworth was the *lost leader*. Browning said that the portrait was "purposely disguised a little, used in short as an artist uses a model, retaining certain characteristic traits, and discarding the rest." The question is finally set at rest, however, by a letter published in Grosart's edition of Wordsworth's *Prose Works*, which settles it beyond doubt that Wordsworth was the original of the poem: —

"19 Warwick-Crescent, W., Feb. 24, '75.

"Dear Mr. Grosart, — I have been asked the question you now address me with, and as duly answered it. I can't remember how many times; there is no sort of objection to one more assurance or rather confession, on my part, that I *did* in my hasty youth presume to use the great and venerated personality of Wordsworth as a sort of painter's model; one from which this or the other particular feature may be selected and turned to account; had I intended more, above all, such a boldness as portraying the entire man, I should not have talked about 'handfuls of silver and bits of ribbon.' These never influenced the change of politics in the great poet, whose defection, nevertheless, accompanied as it was by a regular face-about of his special party, was to my juvenile apprehension, and even mature consideration, an event to deplore. But just as in the tapestry on my wall I can recognize figures which have *struck out* a fancy, on occasion, that though truly enough thus derived, yet would be preposterous as a copy, so, though I dare not deny the original of my little poem, I altogether refuse to have it

considered as the 'very effigies' of such a moral and intellectual superiority.

"Faithfully yours, ROBERT BROWNING."

Mr. Furnivall says, in his Browning *Bibliography*: "Wordsworth, having turned Tory, was chiefly aimed at here; but other men and incidents were mixed up with him and his career." As Mr. Furnivall says, the poem very fully depicts the feelings of those Liberals who were left behind when Wordsworth and the others deserted the companions of their youth.

Lost, lost! yet come. The opening words of the first song in *Paracelsus*, sung by Aprile, vol. i. p. 53, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works*.

Lost Mistress, The. *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

The title of this poem was probably suggested by *The Lost Leader*, published in the same volume. For interpretations, see Mrs. Orr and Fotheringham.

Love among the Ruins. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868. Written at Rome in the winter of 1853–1854.

Love in a Life. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Lovers' Quarrel, A. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

This poem has been set to music by E. C. Gregory; London, Novello, Ewer & Co.

Lucrezia. The wife of Andrea del Sarto, in the poem with that title, to whom her husband is speaking in the poem, and who compares his own painting with that of Raphael, declaring that he might have done as good work had she given him the inspiration for its accomplishment.

Lucy Percy, Countess of Carlisle. The devoted friend and admirer of Wentworth in *Strafford*, who even tries to save his life. She appears frequently throughout the play.

Luigi. The young Italian who is about to betray his country, in *Pippa Passes*.

Luitolfo. The friend of Chiappino and the lover of

Eulalia, in *A Soul's Tragedy*, who defends Chiappino only to be betrayed by him.

Luria. A Tragedy. Published first in number eight of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1846, when the title was *Luria. A Tragedy in Five Acts. Time 14—.* In *Poetical Works*, 1863, in second volume, with *Tragedies and Other Plays.* See *Bells and Pomegranates* for other particulars of the publication of this play.

The struggle between Florence and Pisa, by which, in 1406, Pisa came under the dominion of her rival, is the historical subject of this play. The historical events are not closely followed, and are merely a framework for the poem. Located at the mouth of the Arno, Pisa controlled the commerce of Florence in a measure, and became a formidable rival of that city. During the fierce war between Florence and Milan, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Pisa came under the control of Milan. In 1406 Milan sold Pisa to Florence, thus withdrawing its own support from the city at the mouth of the Arno. Then Florence made a vigorous effort to reduce its new possession to submission.

In his *Florentine History* Napier gives an extended account of the capture of Pisa, which may be condensed in this way: "The acquisition of Pisa was a serious affair at Florence, and great efforts were made to secure it. . . . Her army was first commanded by Jacopo Salviati, a Florentine citizen, who after some useful and active service was superseded by Bertoldo degli Orsini; but this general showing more rapacity than soldiership displeased the Florentines, and was ordered to resign his command to Obizzo da Monte Carelli. Active military operations had continued through the autumn of 1405, and when the camp was pitched before Pisa, almost all its territory had been subdued. . . . After this the growing rivalry of Sforza and Tartaglia began to trouble the camp so much that they were placed by order of the Seigniory in distinct and distant commands, with their separate forces, for in those days armies were like a piece of patchwork, composed of many small independent bands, with but little subordination amongst any who were strong enough to be troublesome, unless awed by high rank or the acknowledged fame of some able chieftain. . . . As famine was still eating on its

silent way Gambacorta [one of the Pisan leaders] secretly renewed the negotiations with Gino Capponi and finally consented to a capitulation. . . . After this resolute conduct Gino repaired to Florence and explained all to the Seigniory. . . . Gino Capponi and Bartolommeo Corbinelli were appointed public syndics to complete the transaction. . . . Gino then took possession of the public palace and commenced Florentine rule."

It will be seen that not one of the leaders of the Florentine forces was a Moor, though mercenaries were employed by the Italian cities at this time. The play is based on certain historical details, however, for in Sapio Amminato's *Florentine History* it is related: "And when all was ready, the expedition marched to the gates of Pisa, under the command of Conte Bartoldo Orsini, a Ventusian captain, in the Florentine service, accompanied by Filippo di Megalotti, Rinaldo di Gian Figliazzi, and Maso degli Albizzi, in the character of commissaries of the commonwealth. For although we have every confidence in the honor and fidelity of our general, you see it is always well to be on the safe side. And in the matter of receiving possession of a city . . . these nobles with the old feudal names! We know the ways of them! An Orsini might be as bad in Pisa as a Visconti, so we might as well send some of our own people to be on the spot. The three commissaries, therefore, accompanied the Florentine general to Pisa."

The intriguing spirit which constantly hindered Luria, and the secret attack upon him even when he was victorious, and in order that he might gain no personal benefit from success, were of the essence of the political life of the period. In these general characteristics the play is historical, but not in its use of names and particular events.

In Act I. of the play, at the bottom of page 364 in the Riverside edition, Braccio and the secretary discuss the front of the Duomo in Florence, and the secretary says: —

> "Lady Domizia
> Spoke of the unfinished Duomo, you remember;
> That is his [Luria's] fancy how a Moorish front
> Might join to, and complete the body."

Browning appears to have been struck, in studying the Duomo, with an idea that a Moorish front would best com-

plete it. It has been discovered by Mr. Earnest Radford, in exploring a small museum in Florence, that one design offered had actually thus planned the completion of the building. See Browning *Bibliography*, and number two of *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 251.

See Alexander. In *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 553 and 2 : 19, is a valuable historical and analytical study of the poem, by Prof. Henry S. Pancoast, from which the above extract from Amminato is taken. In his *Stories from Robert Browning*, Mr. F. M. Holland tells the story of the play in prose. *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 125*.

Madhouse Cells. This was the general title given in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842, to I. *Johannes Agricola*. II. *Porphyria*. The first of these was printed in the *Poetical Works* of 1863 as *Johannes Agricola in Meditation*, and the second as *Porphyria's Lover*.

Magical Nature. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*, 1876.

Malcrais. The name of Paul Desforges Maillard in *Two Poets of Croisic*, when he assumed the character of his sister in sending poems to the *Mercure*.

Man I am and man would be. Love. The opening words of the fourth lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies*.

Marching Along. First published in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842, as I. of *Cavalier Tunes*, which see. *Poems*, 1849 ; *Lyrics*, 1863 ; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Martin Relph. *Dramatic Idyls*, First Series, 1879.

An indistinct remembrance, of something heard by the poet when a boy, gave origin to this story in verse. The speaker is a grandson of a man who saw Martin Relph as an old man, and he tells the story as it was repeated to him by his grandfather.

Mary Wollstonecraft and Fuseli. *Jocoseria*, 1883.

Mary Wollstonecraft was the author of the *Rights of Woman*, the wife of William Godwin, and the mother of Shelley's second wife. She was born in 1759 and died in 1797. Fuseli was born in Switzerland in 1741, but he lived in England after 1761. He was a mediocre painter, but he gave lectures on art which were published as *Lectures on*

Painting, and gained him some reputation. He also published a *History of Arts*, and other works. He died in 1825.

In the poem Mary Wollstonecraft is addressing Fuseli, and pouring out to him her passionate and unrequited love. This scene is probably based on the biography of Fuseli written by Knowles, or on Godwin's *Memoirs* of his wife. This incident is thus described by Godwin: "She saw Mr. Fuseli frequently; he amused, delighted, and instructed her. As a painter, it was impossible she should not wish to see his works, and consequently to frequent his house. She visited him; her visits were returned. Notwithstanding the inequality of their years, Mary was not of a temper to live upon terms of so much intimacy with a man of merit and genius, without loving him. The delight she enjoyed in his society, she transferred by association to his person. What she experienced in this respect, was no doubt heightened by the state of celibacy and restraint in which she had hitherto lived. She conceived a personal and ardent affection for him. Mr. Fuseli was a married man, and his wife the acquaintance of Mary. She readily perceived the restrictions which this circumstance seemed to impose upon her; but she made light of any difficulty that might arise out of them. . . . There is no reason to doubt that, if Mr. Fuseli had been disengaged at the period of their acquaintance, he would have been the man of her choice. As it was, she conceived it both practicable and eligible to cultivate a distinguishing affection for him, and to foster it by the endearments of personal intercourse and a reciprocation of kindness."

Knowles, in his *Life of Fuseli*, goes even farther than this, and represents Mary as being importunate in her love, and passionately so. She wrote to Fuseli frequently, she pursued him with her affection, and when he was cold and indifferent, she boldly went to Mrs. Fuseli, and asked to become a member of the family, that she might be constantly near the man whom she loved, and whose presence was necessary to her existence. Mrs. Fuseli drove her from the house; and then it was Mary Wollstonecraft went to France.

The recent students of the life of Mary Wollstonecraft deny the truthfulness of these stories of Godwin and

Knowles. Mr. C. Kegan Paul, in his *William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries*, entirely repudiates them. He says that Knowles "is so extremely inaccurate in regard to all else he says of her, that his testimony may be wholly set aside," and that "the correspondence and the uninterrupted friendship with Mrs. Fuseli would seem wholly to clear Mary Wollstonecraft's memory from the imputation of any feeling for Fuseli in which there is reason for blame even by the most censorious." In her *Life of Mary Wollstonecraft* Mrs. Elizabeth Robins Pennell says: "Her character is the best refutation of Knowles's charges. She was too proud to demean herself to any man. She was too sensitive to slights to risk the repulses he says she accepted. And since always before and after this period she had nothing more at heart than the happiness of others, it is not likely that she would have deliberately tried to step in between Fuseli and his wife, and gain at the latter's expense her own ends. She could not have changed her character in a day. She never played fast and loose with her principles. The testimony of her actions is her acquittal."

Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Hugues is an imaginary composer. — *Saxe-Gotha* is a duchy in the central part of the German Empire. — *Palestrina* was a great Italian composer of the sixteenth century, who produced a revolution in the character of church music, and gave to the music of the Catholic church its tone and character.

May and Death. First printed in *The Keepsake*, 1857, published in London by David Bogue, and edited by Miss Power. Reprinted in *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864, with new readings.

Mrs. Orr says: "This poem was a personal utterance, provoked by the death of a relative whom Mr. Browning dearly loved." The plant described in the fourth stanza is commented upon in *The Browning Society's Papers*. "Surely the *Polygonum Persicaria*, or Spotted Persicaria, is the plant alluded to. It is a common weed with purple stains upon its rather large leaves; these spots varying in size and vividness of color, according to the nature of the soil where it grows. A legend attaches to this plant and

attributes these stains to the blood of Christ having fallen on its leaves, growing below the cross."

Meeting at Night. This poem and its sequel, *Parting at Morning*, were published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, the seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, in 1845 : and they appeared there under the general title of *Night and Morning*, while the first was called *Night*, and the second *Morning*. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 the present titles were assigned to these poems.

In each of these short poems the speaker is a man, who goes at night from his daily duties among men, to the love and the quiet peace of his home and the woman he loves. In the morning he returns to the tasks of the day, and to take part in the world's work, because he feels the need of contact with men. If the poem has any didactic meaning, it is that the love which the home gives, and the tasks which come through contact with men, mutually sustain each other.

Melon-Seller, The. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

The Prime Minister of the Shah become a seller of melons is probably borrowed from Job. The sentence in Hebrew, which is given in English immediately after as a "Persian phrase," is taken from Job, and is a summing up of the philosophy of that ancient thinker on the problem of evil. — *Ispahan* is a leading city of Persia. — *Nishapur* (Nishapoor) is a small city in the province of Khorassan. — *Elbruz* is a mountain in the range of the same name, which runs parallel with the southern shore of the Caspian sea.

Memorabilia. *Men and Women*, 1855, where the title was *Memorabilia (on seeing Shelley)*. *Lyrics*, 1863, with that part of title in parenthesis omitted ; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868. Composed on the Campagna in the winter of 1853–54. It was about 1825 that Browning became acquainted with the poetry of Shelley, and it had a remarkable effect upon him. It quickened his poetical life, and gave him new conceptions of beauty. From that time he was an ardent admirer of Shelley, *Pauline* being written under the influence of this inspiration. Shelley is also mentioned in *Sordello*, *Cenciaja*, and the *Introductory Essay* to what proved to be spurious letters. In his paper on the early writings of Browning, now published in *Personalia*, Mr. Gosse, after

speaking of his earliest poem, says: "At the time they were written he was entirely under the influence of Byron, and his verse was so full and melodious that Mr. Fox confessed, long afterward, that he had thought that his snare would be a too gorgeous scale of language and tenuity of thought, concealed by metrical audacity. But about a year after this, an event revolutionized Robert Browning's whole conception of poetic art. There came into his hands a miserable pirated edition of part of Shelley's works; the window was dull, but he looked through it into an enchanted garden. He was impatient to walk there himself, but, in 1825, it was by no means easy to obtain the books of Shelley. No bookseller that was applied to knew the name, although Shelley had been dead three years. At last, inquiry was made of the editor of the *Literary Gazette*, and it was replied that the books in question could be obtained of C. & J. Ollier, of Vere street. To Vere street, accordingly, Mrs. Browning proceeded, and brought back as a present for her son, not only all the works of Shelley, but three volumes written by a Mr. John Keats, which were recommended to her as being very much in the spirit of Mr. Shelley. A bibliophile of to-day is almost dazed in thinking of the prize which the unconscious lady brought back with her to Camberwell. There was the Pisa *Adonais* in its purple paper cover; there was *Epipsychidion*, — in short, all the books she bought were still in their first edition, except *The Cenci*, which professed to be in the second. . . . Well, the dust of the dead Keats and Shelley turned to flower-seed in the brain of the young poet, and very soon wrought a change in the whole of his ambition."

In a letter written in 1886, and quoted by Kingsland, Browning says: "As for the early editions of Shelley, they were obtained for me sometime before 1830 (or even earlier), in the regular way, from Hunt and Clarke, in consequence of a direction I obtained from the *Literary Gazette*. I still possess *Posthumous Poems*, but have long since parted with *Prometheus Bound*, *Rosalind and Helen*, *Six Weeks' Tour*, *Cenci*, and the *Adonais*. I got at the same time, nearly, *Endymion*, and *Lamia*, etc., as if they had been published a week before, and not years after the death of Keats."

See Corson, Kingsland, and Sharp.

Men and Women. Published by Chapman and Hall, 193, Picadilly, London, 1855, in two volumes. The poems were written during the years from 1848 to the time of publication in London and Florence. The contents were as follows: —

Volume I. Love among the Ruins; A Lover's Quarrel; Evelyn Hope; Up at a Villa — Down in the City; A Woman's Last Word; Fra Lippo Lippi; A Toccata of Galuppi's; By the Fire-Side; Any Wife to any Husband; An Epistle concerning the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician; Mesmerism; A Serenade at the Villa; My Star; Instans Tyrannus; A Pretty Woman; Childe Roland to the Dark Tower came; Respectability; A Light Woman; The Statue and the Bust; Love in a Life; Life in a Love; How it strikes a Contemporary; The Last Ride Together; The Patriot; Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha; Bishop Blougram's Apology; Memorabilia. Pages i.–iv., 1–260.

Volume II. Andrea del Sarto (Called the Faultless Painter); Before; After; In Three Days; In a Year; Old Pictures in Florence; In a Balcony; Saul; "De Gustibus"; Women and Roses; Protus; Holy-Cross Day; The Guardian Angel, a Picture at Fano; Cleon; The Twins; Popularity; The Heretic's Tragedy; A Middle-Age Interlude; Two in the Campagna; A Grammarian's Funeral; One Way of Love; Another Way of Love; "Transcendentalism: a Poem in Twelve Books"; Misconceptions; One Word More: To E. B. B. Pages, i.–iv., 1–241.

When Browning published his *Poetical Works*, in 1863, he made a new distribution of his poems, and only the following were classed under the head of *Men and Women.*

Transcendentalism; How it Strikes a Contemporary; Artemis Prologizes; An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician; Pictor Ignotus; Fra Lippo Lippi; Andrea del Sarto; The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church; Bishop Blougram's Apology; Cleon; Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli; One Word More.

Some of these poems did not belong to the original edition of *Men and Women*, and in 1863 were classed under this

head for the first time. In the *Poetical Works* of 1868 *Johannes Agricola in Meditation* was added to the above; and in all later editions these thirteen poems have been classed under the head of *Men and Women.*

See *Bentley's Magazine*, 39 : 64; *The British Quarterly Review*, 23 : 151; *The Dublin University Review*, 47 : 673; *Fraser's Magazine*, 53 : 105; *The Westminster Review*, 65 : 920.

Mesmerism. *Men and Women*, 1855. See Mrs. Orr for a brief interpretation. Mr. Symons says that "the intense absorption, the breathless eagerness of the mesmerist, are rendered, in a manner truly marvelous, by the breathless and yet measured race of the verses."

Mihrab Shah. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

Mihrab Shah is an invention of the poet's. He directly refers in this poem to Firdusi, and questions the truthfulness of his tales. Like all the true epics, such as the *Iliad* and the *Nibelungen*, the *Shah Nameh* is based on legend, but legend that has in it an element of truth. Most of its characters are historical, but their deeds have become distorted and exaggerated through the process of legendary growth. On this point Miss Zimmern says, in the introduction to her *Heroic Tales:* "Adumbrated by poetical and popular legends, we learn in the *Shah Nameh* the wars of the peoples that succeeded each other in the Persian Empire. Thus the history of Zohak probably represents the invasion of some Semitic people into Iran; the combat of the descendants of Tur against those of Irij signifies the long wars waged by the Persian kings against the Tartar and Scythian peoples of the north, wars signalized by many vicissitudes. And this Zohak is held by some to be the Nimrod of the Hebrews; Hai Khosrau is identified as the Cyrus of the Greeks; Gushtasp, the Darius Hystaspes; Isfendiyar, the Xerxes; while the fabulous lengths of the reigns of the various kings are held to represent periods in the history of Persia. This may be so, but it is best to regard the *Shah Nameh* once for all as history clouded by fable, and to dismiss its earlier half as being as historically obscure as the time that preceded the Trojan war."

The *Simorgh* (Simurgh) is a fabulous creature of Persian mythology, noted for its benevolence and its ability to be-

stow magical powers. It is supposed to have been the origin of the griffin, which found its way into Europe through the Arabs of Spain, but got transformed from a beneficent being to a terrible beast. Atkinson says of this being: "The sex of this fabulous animal is not clearly made out. It tells Zal [in the *Shah Nameh*] that it had nursed him like a father, though the preserver of young ones might authorize its being considered a female. The Simurgh is probably neither one nor the other, or both. Some have likened the Simurgh to the Hippogriff or Griffin, but the Simurgh is plainly a biped; others again have supposed that the fable simply meant a holy recluse of the mountains, who nourished and educated the poor child which had been abandoned by its father." The reference here is to the abandonment of Zal by his father Sam, and to his being nourished and brought up by the Simorgh. He was abandoned because of his white hair, white being the color of evil to the Persians.

Mildred Tresham. The young girl in *A Blot on The 'Scutcheon* who is beloved by Lord Henry Mertoun, who secretly receives his visits. When discovered he is stabbed by her brother Earl Tresham, and she dies heart-broken.

Misconceptions. *Men and Women*, 1855. In *Poetical Works* of 1863 classed under *Lyrics;* in 1868 *Dramatic Lyrics.* Set to music by E. C. Gregory; London, Novello, Ewer & Co. Also by Georgiana Schuyler, under the title *This is a Spray the Bird clung to;* New York, G. Schirmer.

Mr. Gigadibs. The young literary man in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, to whom the bishop is speaking, and who has questioned his honesty and consistency in being a Churchman.

Mr. Sludge, "The Medium." *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

An interpretation of American spiritualism on one side of it, that of imposture and credulity. It was probably suggested by the career of D. D. Home. Browning gave much attention to spiritualism during several years, his wife being a strong believer in it. Miss M. R. Mitford wrote that "Mrs. Browning believes in every spirit-rapping story;" and that she "is positively crazy about the spirit-

rappings." Her cousin, Henry Chorley, said that "she lent an ear as credulous as her trust was sincere and her heart high-minded" to the claims of mesmerism and clairvoyance. See Mr. John H. Ingram's *Biography* of Mrs. Browning, page 207, for an account of her interest in these subjects. Browning was much less interested in spiritualism than was his wife, and he was inclined to doubt.

This is clearly shown in Hawthorne's *French and Italian Note-Books*, where, under date of June 9, 1858, record is made of a conversation very significant with reference to this poem, which was written not long after that time: —

"There was no very noteworthy conversation; the most interesting topic being that disagreeable and now wearisome one of spiritual communications, as regards which Mrs. Browning is a believer, and her husband an infidel. Browning and his wife had both been present at a spiritual session held by Mr. Home, and had seen and felt the unearthly hands, one of which had placed a laurel wreath on Mrs. Browning's head. Browning, however, avowed his belief that these hands were affixed to the feet of Mr. Home, who lay extended in his chair, with his legs stretched far under the table. The marvelousness of the fact, as I have read of it, and heard it from other eye-witnesses, melted strangely away in his hearty gripe, and at the sharp touch of his logic; while his wife, ever and anon, put in a little gentle word of expostulation." See *The Browning Society's Papers*, number seven, 2 : 13 and 2 : 45* : for an extended study of the poem, by Edwin Johnson.

Muckle-mouth Meg. *Asolando*, 1889.

The story told in this poem is to be found in Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's *Scottish Rivers*, and probably in other works. It is there told as follows: "A feud had for some time existed between the Murrays and the Scotts. In prosecution of this, William Scott, son of the head of the family of Harden, stole, with his followers, from his Border strength of Oakwood Tower on the river Ettrick, to lead them on a foray against Sir Gideon [Murray] of Elibank. But Sir Gideon was too much on his guard for his enemies, and having fallen on them as they were driving off the cattle, he defeated them, took them prisoners, and recovered the spoil. His lady having met him on his return,

and congratulated him on his success, ventured to ask him what he was going to do with young Harden. 'Why, strap him up to the gallows-tree, to be sure,' replied Sir Gideon. 'Hout na, Sir Gideon,' said the considerate matron, 'would you hang the winsome young Laird of Harden, when you have three ill-favored daughters to marry?' 'Right,' answered the baron, 'he shall either marry our daughter mickle-mouthed Meg, or he shall strap for it.' When this alternative was proposed to the prisoner, he at first stoutly preferred the gibbet to the lady; but as he was led out to the fatal tree for immediate execution, the question began to wear a different aspect, and life, even with mickle-mouthed Meg, seemed to have a certain sunshine about it very different from the darkness of the tomb to which the gallows would have so immediately assigned him. He married Meg, and an excellent wife she made him, and they lived for many years a happy couple, and Sir Walter Scott came by descent from this marriage. Would we could transfer to these pages the animated sketch of this scene made by Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, which, we believe, hangs at Abbotsford, where a few bold lines so perfectly convey the whole humor, not only of the subject, but of the individual characters, as to leave all verbal description quite in the background." *Muckle* and *mickle* have the same meaning, that of magnitude.

Muléykeh. *Dramatic Idyls*, Second Series, 1880.

This story is told in *The Horse and his Rider; or Sketches and Anecdotes of the Noble Quadruped*, by Rollo Springfield; but no reference is made to its source. It is undoubtedly this anecdote of the Bedouins which Browning has made the basis of his poem, changing the names, and retelling the story in a manner to secure the best dramatic effect.

"A Bedouin, named Jabal, possessed a mare of great celebrity. Hassad Pacha, then governor of Damascus, wished to buy the animal, and repeatedly made the owner the most liberal offers, which Jabal steadily refused. The pacha then had recourse to threats, but with no better success. At length one Gafar, a Bedouin of another tribe, presented himself to the pacha, and asked what he would give the man who should make him master of Jabal's mare.

'I would fill his horse's nose-bag with gold,' replied Hassad, whose pride and covetousness had been irritated to the highest degree by the obstinacy of the mare's owner. The result of this interview having gone abroad, Jabal became more watchful than ever; and always secured his mare at night with an iron chain, one end of which was fastened round her hind fetlock, whilst the other, after passing through the tent cloth, was attached to a picket driven into the ground under the felt that served himself and his wife for a bed. But one midnight Gafar crept into the tent, and, insinuating his body between Jabal and his wife, he pressed gently now against the one, now against the other, so that the sleepers made room for him right and left, neither of them doubting that the pressure came from the other. This being done, Gafar slit the felt with a sharp knife, drew out the picket, loosed the mare, and sprang on her back. Just before starting off with his prize, he caught up Jabal's lance, and poking him with the butt end, cried out, 'I am Gafar! I have stolen your noble mare, and I give you notice in time.' This warning, be it observed, was in accordance with the usual practice of the desert on such occasions; to rob a hostile tribe is considered an honorable exploit, and the man who accomplishes it is desirous of all the glory that may flow from the deed. Poor Jabal, when he heard the words, rushed out of the tent and gave the alarm; then mounting his brother's mare, and accompanied by some of his tribe, he pursued the robber for four hours. The brother's mare was of the same stock as Jabal's, but was not equal to her; nevertheless, she outstripped those of all the other pursuers, and was even on the point of overtaking the robber, when Jabal shouted to him, 'Pinch her right ear, and give her a touch of the heel.' Gafar did so, and away went the mare like lightning, speedily rendering all farther pursuit hopeless. The *pinch in the ear* and the *touch with the heel* were the secret signs by which Jabal had been used to urge the mare to her utmost speed. Every Bedouin trains the animals he rides to obey some sign of this kind, to which he has recourse only on urgent occasions, not to be divulged even to his son. Jabal's comrades were amazed and indignant at this strange conduct; 'O thou father of a jackass!' they cried, 'thou hast helped the

thief to rob thee of thy jewel!' But he silenced their upbraidings by saying, 'I would rather lose her than sully her reputation. Would you have me suffer it to be said among the tribes, that another mare had proved fleeter than mine? I have at least this comfort left me, that I can say she never met with her match.'"

My Last Duchess — Ferrara. First printed in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842, where it was called *Italy*, being I. under the general title of *Italy and France*. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it appeared among the *Romances* with the present title; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

Fra Pandolf and his picture, *Claus of Innsbruck*, and *the bronze Neptune taming a sea-horse* are creations of the poet.

My Star. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

This poem is said to be a tribute to Mrs. Browning. Professor Corson has pointed out its resemblance to a part of the fifty-fifth section of *Fifine at the Fair*, which expands the same idea. See Rolfe's *Select Poems* for notes. This poem has been set to music by Helen A. Clarke; published in *Poet-Lore* for July, 1889; also separately by Poet-Lore Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

My Wife Gertrude. See *Boot and Saddle.*

Names, The. At Dr. F. J. Furnivall's suggestion, Browning was asked to contribute a sonnet to the *Shakesperean Show-Book* of the "Shakesperean Show" held in Albert Hall, London, on May 29–31, 1884, to pay off the debt on the Hospital for Women, in Fulham Road. The poet sent to the committee a sonnet on the names of Jehovah and Shakespeare. It was printed as the first article in the *Show-Book;* it was reprinted in *The Pall Mall Gazette* for May 29, 1884; and it was published in the fifth number of *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 105*.

THE NAMES.

Shakespeare! — to such name's sounding, what succeeds
Fitly as silence? Falter forth the spell, —
Act follows word, the speaker knows full well,
Nor tampers with its magic more than needs.

Two names there are: That which the Hebrew reads
With his soul only: if from lips it fell,
Echo, back thundered by earth, heaven and hell,
Would own "Thou did'st create us!" Nought impedes
We voice the other name, man's most of might,
Awesomely, lovingly: let awe and love
Mutely await their working, leave to sight
All of the issue as — below — above —
Shakespeare's creation rises: one remove,
Though dread — this finite from that infinite.
March 12, '84.

Nationality in Drinks. Three poems, as originally published, have been joined together under this title. The first of these poems was called *Claret*, and consisted of two stanzas of six lines each. The second was published first as *Tokay*, and contained seventeen lines. These two poems, under the general title of *Claret and Tokay*, were published in *Hood's Magazine*, edited by Thomas Hood, and at the request of Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, because of the illness of the editor. This explanation of his illness was made in the magazine itself: "A severe attack of the disorder to which he has long been subject — hemorrhage from the lungs, occasioned by the enlargement of the heart (itself brought on by the wearing excitement of ceaseless and excessive literary toil) — has, in the course of a few weeks, reduced Mr. Hood to a state of such extreme debility and exhaustion, that during several days fears were entertained for his life." These two poems, with *The Laboratory*, appeared in the magazine for June, 1844. In *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, 1845, they were reprinted in the same form.

The third of these poems was published in 1845, in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, the seventh part of *Bells and Pomegranates*. It there appeared as the second poem under the general title of *Home Thoughts from Abroad*, itself bearing the title of *Here's to Nelson's Memory*, and contained fifteen lines.

In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 these three poems were brought together under the present title, but each had its own sub-title, as follows: I. *Claret*. II. *Tokay*. III. *Beer*. The edition of 1868 retained the numbering, but omitted the sub-titles; but that of 1888 omitted even the numbering.

The anecdote about Nelson at Trafalgar, with which the

poem concludes, was the occasion of its being written. It is a tribute to his memory, and to the superior prowess of Englishmen as represented by him.

Natural Magic. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*, 1876.

Ned Bratts. Written at Splügen, and published in *Dramatic Idyls*, First Series, 1879.

This poem is taken from Bunyan's story of old Tod, as told in his *Mr. Badman*. It was Bunyan's purpose in this book to describe "the life and death of the ungodly, and their travel from this world to Hell." This story was heard by Browning in his boyhood, and it was from memory that he produced the poem, for it was written at a place far away from books. Bunyan drew upon current Midland stories, often told by the fireside and impressed upon his youthful imagination, for his account of old Tod. The title page of the book as printed in 1680, and the story of old Tod, are here given verbatim: —

"The Life and Death of Mr. *Badman*, Presented To the World in a familiar Dialogue Between Mr. *Wiseman*, And Mr. Attentive. By *John Bunyan*, the Author of the *Pilgrims Progress*. *London*, Printed by *J. A.* for *Nath. Ponder* at the *Peacock* in the Poultrey, near the Church. 1680.

"*Wife*[*man*]. Since you are entred upon Storyes, I alſo will tell you one, the which, though I heard it not with mine own Ears, yet my author I dare believe. It is concerning one old *Tod*, that was hanged about Twenty years agoe, or more, at *Hartford*, for being a Thief. The Story is this:

The Story of old *Tod*.

Young Thieves take notice.

"'At a Summer Aſſizes holden at *Hartfort*, while the Judge was ſitting upon the Bench, comes this old *Tod* into the Court, cloathed in a green Suit, with his Leathern Girdle in his hand, his boſom open, and all on a dung ſweat, as if he had run for his Life; and being come in, he ſpake aloud as follows: *My Lord*, ſaid he, *Here is the veryeſt Rogue that breaths upon the face of the earth. I have been a Thief from a Child: When I was but a little one, I gave my ſelf to rob Orchards, and to do other ſuch like wicked things, and I have continued a Thief ever ſince. My Lord, there has not been a Robbery committed thus many*

Old *Tod* began his way to the Gallows by robbing of Orchards and the like.

years, within ſo many miles of this place, but I have either been at it, or privy to it.

" 'The Judge thought the fellow was mad, but after ſome conference with ſome of the Juſtices, they agreed to Indict him; and ſo they did, of ſeveral felonious Actions; to all which he heartily confeſſed Guilty, and ſo was hanged with his wife at the ſame time.'

" *Atten[tive]. This is a remarkable ſtory indeed, and you think it is a true one.*

" *Wife.* It is not only remarkable, but pat to our purpoſe. This Thief, like Mr. *Badman*, began his Trade betimes; he began too where Mr. *Badman* began, even at robbing of Orchards, and other ſuch things, which brought him, as you may perceive, from ſin to ſin, till at laſt it brought him to the publick ſhame of ſin, which is the Gallows.

" As for the truth of this Story, the Relator told me that he was at the ſame time himſelf in the Court, and ſtood within leſs than two yards of old *Tod*, when he heard him aloud to utter the words."

As will be seen, Browning has improved upon this story as told by Bunyan. He has invented the conversion of Tod and his wife through the influence of the reading of Bunyan; and he has embellished the narrative in other particulars. Mr. R. H. Hutton says of this poem, in his *Literary Essays*, that " nothing could illustrate better the savage conciseness with which Mr. Browning loves to dash in his sketches in black and white, to signalize rather than to paint what strikes his eye."

See *The Browning Society's Papers*, part two, 1: 254, and Froude's *Bunyan*, p. 5.

Never the Time and the Place. *Jocoseria*, 1883.

An expression of love and longing, with some memory in it of Mrs. Browning.

Norbert. The lover of Constance, in *In a Balcony*, and the diplomatic agent of the Queen. The Queen believes that he loves her, and the tragedy of the play arises from the cross-purposes thus produced.

Not with my Soul, Love! The first words of the tenth lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies*.

Now. *Asolando*, 1889.

Numpholeptos. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*, 1876. The title of this poem means, caught by a nymph or entranced by a nymph. Nymphs were inferior gods or the gods of the groves, rivers, mountains, and other natural objects. They were supposed to have prophetic or oracular powers, which they communicated to springs, wells, trees, etc., thus endowing them with curative powers. Inspired soothsayers or priests were called numpholeptoi. In his life of Aristides Plutarch says: "The cave of the nymphs Spragitides was on the top of the Mount Cithaeron, on the side facing the setting sun of summer time; in which place, as the story goes, there was formerly an oracle, and many that lived in the district were inspired with it, whom they called *Nympholepti*, possessed with the nymphs."

See *Numpholeptos and Browning's Women*, by Mrs. Glazebrook, *Browning Society's Papers*, number eleven. Mrs. Glazebrook analyzes and interprets the poem, and says: — "The nymph is the ideal woman — a modern Beatrice or Laura — a being endowed with all beauty, all knowledge, all purity and virtue, who was born centuries ago, in the days of mediæval chivalry, in whose honor many songs have been sung, and many lances have been broken. Dante describes her beautifully for us in his *Vita Nuova*, the book which tells the story of his early love. She is 'that most gentle lady, the destroyer of all vices and the queen of all virtues,' in whose presence evil is abashed and all gracious sentiments are aroused." Miss Mary E. Burt's *Browning's Women* discusses this character in the chapter on intellectual women.

In reporting the meeting of the Browning Society at which Mrs. Glazebrook's paper was read, the London *Literary World* said: "The poem of *Numpholeptos* was considered in two papers, — one by Mrs. Glazebrook and the other by Dr. Berdoe. The poem is remarkable for its many beautiful lines, but is one of the most obscure of Browning's works. A lover adores a Nymph of 'quintessential whiteness,' who stands in the center of a wheel of dazzling white light, which, like a diamond, rays forth colored beams, forming the spokes of a mystic wheel. The light metaphor is a favorite of Mr. Browning's. The figure of the breaking up of pure white light into the component

rays of the solar spectrum and their reconstruction to form again pure white light is constantly used throughout the poet's works, and is one of the instances given by Dr. Berdoe of his eminence as the poet of science. The trouble at the Browning debate was to make out who was the Nymph. 'Philosophy,' 'Divine Wisdom,' 'The Virgin Mary,' 'Dante's Beatrice,' 'Pervenient Grace,' 'Truth,' 'Ideal Woman,' 'Goethe's Woman-Soul,' were all suggested at the meeting, but all in some point or other failed, even to the suggesters themselves, to meet all the conditions of the poem. Mrs. Glazebrook thought the poem meant to symbolize 'Ideal Woman.' Dr. Berdoe, though he felt there was much to be said for the idea of 'Our Lady,' and in a lesser degree 'Beatrice,' as symbols of grace, was most inclined to the notion of the 'Woman-Soul,' — not the ideally-perfect woman, but the generalized living and working every-day woman, — the savior of man, as the solution of the mystery. Many speakers, among whom was Dr. Furnivall (the president, — who was in the chair), confessed that it was impossible to make any of the suggested interpretations 'run on all-fours,' and it was resolved to ask Mr. Browning to be good enough to explain the poem to the Society. The secret of the difficulty seems largely to consist in the inversion of Dante's metaphor and description of the light of heaven in the *Paradiso*. In that poem 'the listed rays' combine to form the glorious white light of the throne of God, treating the light rays as centripetal. Mr. Browning's use of the metaphor is centrifugal, — the resolution of perfection into imperfection; and hence the difficulty of the recombination which the pilgrim ever discovers."

Ogniben. The Pope's Legate in *A Soul's Tragedy*, who rides into Faenza on his mule to suppress an insurrection, who finally advises Chiappino to leave the town for a short time, and who rides out of the city declaring that he had "known *Four*-and-twenty leaders of revolt."

Oh Love! Love. This is a translation of a lyric in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, and it was made by Browning, at the request of Prof. J. P. Mahaffy, for his little book on *Euripides*, published in the series of *Classical Writers*, edited by John Richard Green, 1879. Prof. Mahaffy prefaced it with these words: "Mr. Browning has honored me (Dec. 18, 1878) with the following translation of these

stanzas, so that the general reader may not miss the meaning or the spirit of the ode. The English meter, though not a strict reproduction, gives an excellent idea of the original." This poem is printed in a supplement to volume vi. of the Riverside edition, 1889. See Appendix.

Old Gandolf. The enemy of the bishop in *The Bishop at St. Praxed's Church.*

Old Pictures in Florence. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

In this poem Browning presents some of his theories of art. He compares the old painters and the new; especially the art of Greece, with its physical perfection, and the more spiritual art of Christian Italy. The poem was suggested by Giotto's campanile or bell-tower of the cathedral or duomo in Florence. Giotto was born in 1276, was educated in art by Cimabue, was the friend of Dante, and introduced into art a love for what is natural and simple. He worked in many Italian cities, and left behind him many remarkable productions. Boccaccio says that "Giotto was a man of such genius that nothing was ever created that he did not reproduce with the stile, the pen, or the pencil, so as not merely to imitate but to appear nature itself." Perhaps no one of his productions has excited more interest than the campanile, of which Ruskin has said: "The characteristics of power and beauty occur more or less in different buildings, some in one and some in another. But altogether, and all in their highest possible relative degrees, they exist, as far as I know, only in one building of the world, the campanile of Giotto."

The comparison which Browning makes between Giotto's perfect ○ and his uncompleted campanile was drawn from the reading of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the most eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects.* Vasari was born in Tuscany in 1512, studied art with Michael Angelo, did much good work as an architect and painter, and died at Florence in 1574. His fame rests on his *Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti*, which was published in 1550. He revised and enlarged it three or four times; and it has been edited again and again in more recent years. It is one of the most interesting works connected with the history of art. When Browning went to Italy in

1846, with his newly married wife, he lived at Pisa for some months in a house built by Vasari. Early in 1847, Mrs. Browning wrote from there to her friend Horne, the poet: "We live here in the most secluded manner, eschewing English visitors, and reading Vasari, and dreaming dreams of seeing Venice in the summer." The same year the two poets settled in Florence, and then Browning studied Giotto and his work, as well as the other masters, old and new. Much of this study was done by the help of Vasari, who describes as follows the incidents referred to in the poem.

"Giotto repaired to Pisa, and on one of the walls of the Campo Santo he painted the history of Job, in six large frescos. . . . The figures of these paintings, and the heads are exceedingly beautiful; the draperies are also painted with exceeding grace; nor is it at all surprising that this work acquired so much fame for its author as to induce Pope Benedict IX. to send one of his courtiers from Treviso to Tuscany for the purpose of ascertaining what kind of man Giotto might be, and what were his works: the pontiff then proposing to have certain paintings executed in the church of St. Peter. The messenger, when on his way to visit Giotto, and to inquire what other masters there were in Florence, spoke first with many artists in Siena — then, having received designs from them, he proceeded to Florence, and repaired one morning to the workshop where Giotto was occupied with his labors. He declared the purpose of the pope, and the manner in which that pontiff desired to avail himself of his assistance, and finally, requested to have a drawing, that he might send it to his holiness. Giotto, who was very courteous, took a sheet of paper, and a pencil dipped in red color; then, resting his elbow on his side, to form a sort of compass, with one turn of the hand he drew a circle, so perfect and exact that it was a marvel to behold. This done, he turned smiling to the courtier, saying, 'Here is your drawing.' 'Am I to have nothing more than this?' inquired the latter, conceiving himself to be jested with. 'That is enough and to spare,' returned Giotto; 'send it with the rest, and you will see if it will be recognized.' The messenger, unable to obtain anything more, went away very ill-satisfied, and fear-

ing that he had been fooled. Nevertheless, having dispatched the other drawings to the pope, with the names of those who had done them, he sent that of Giotto also, relating the mode in which he had made his circle, without moving his arm and without compasses: from which the pope, and such of the courtiers as were well versed in the subject, perceived how far Giotto surpassed all the other painters of the time. This incident, becoming known, gave rise to the proverb, still used in relation to people of dull wits — *Tu sei più tondo che l'O di Giotto* [Thou art rounder than the O of Giotto] — the significance of which consists in the double meaning of the word *tondo*, which is used in the Tuscan for slowness of intellect and heaviness of comprehension, as well as for an exact circle.

"After completing these works, and on the 9th of July, 1334, Giotto commenced the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore; the foundations were laid on massive stone. . . . The edifice then proceeded on the plan before mentioned, and in the Gothic manner of those times; all the historical representations, which were to be the ornaments, being designed with infinite care and diligence by Giotto himself, who marked out on the model all the compartments where the friezes and sculptures were to be placed, in colors of white, black, and red. . . . And if that which Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti has written be true, as I fully believe it is, Giotto not only made the model of the campanile, but even executed a part of the sculptures and reliefs, — those representations in marble, namely, which exhibit the origin of all the arts. Lorenzo also affirms that he saw models in relief from the hand of Giotto, and more particularly those used in these works. . . . This campanile, according to the design of Giotto, was to have been crowned by a spire or pyramid, of the height of fifty braccia; but as this was in the old Gothic manner, the modern architects have always advised its omission, the building appearing to them better as it is. For all these works, Giotto was not only made a citizen of Florence, but also received a pension of a hundred golden florins yearly — a large sum in those times — from the commune of Florence. He was also appointed superintendent of the work, which he did not live to see finished, but which was continued after his death by Tad-

deo Gaddi. . . . Finally, and no long time after he had returned from Milan, having passed his life in the production of so many admirable works, and having proved himself a good Christian, as well as an excellent painter, Giotto resigned his soul to God in the year 1336, not only to the great regret of his fellow citizens, but of all who had known him, or even heard his name."

The last line of the eighth stanza refers to Leonardo *da Vinci*, and to *Dello* di Niccolo Delli, a painter and sculptor of the first half of the fifteenth century. — The *Stefano* of the ninth stanza was a disciple of Giotto, and a Florentine painter. He was called the "Ape of Nature" because of the accuracy of his representations of the human body. Vasari says: "It is obvious Stefano approached closely to the manner of the moderns, surpassing his master Giotto considerably, whether in design or other artistic qualities." Vasari gives biographies of all the artists mentioned in the poem.

In the thirteenth stanza the allusions are to celebrated pieces of sculpture. *Theseus* is a reclining statue from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, now in the British Museum.—*The Son of Priam* is probably the Paris of the Æginetan sculptures, which is kneeling and drawing a bow; now in the Glyptothek in Munich. — *Apollo* is thus discussed by Browning himself: —

"A word on the line about Apollo the snake-slayer, which my friend Professor Colvin condemns, believing that the god of the Belvedere grasps no bow, but the ægis, as described in the 15th Iliad. Surely the text represents that portentous object (θοῦριν. δεινήν, ἀμφιδάσειαν, ἀριπρεπέ' — μαρμαρέην) as 'shaken violently' or 'held immovably' by both hands, not a single one, and that the left hand: —

ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἐν χείρεσσι λάβ' αἰγίδα θυσανόεσσαν
τὴν μάλ' ἐπίσσειόν φοβέειν ἤρωας Ἀχαιούς.

and so on, τὴν ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων — χερσὶν ἔχ' ἀτρέμα, κ.τ.λ. Moreover, while he shook it he 'shouted enormously,' σεῖσ', ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς αὔσε μάλα μέγα, which the statue does not. Presently when Teukros, on the other side, plies the bow, it is τόξον ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παλίντονον. Besides, by the act of discharging an arrow, the right arm and hand are thrown back as we see, — a quite gratuitous and theatrical display in the case supposed. The conjecture of Flaxman that the statue was suggested by the bronze Apollo Alexikakos of Kalamis, mentioned by Pausanias, remains probable; though the 'hardness' which Cicero considers to distinguish the artist's workmanship from that of Myron is not by any means apparent in our marble copy, if it be one. — Feb. 16, 1880."

This note Browning added to the poem in his volume of *Selections*.

Niobe is a statue of that unfortunate mother mourning the death of her children, in a group of ancient sculpture in the Uffizi Palace, Florence. — *The Racers' frieze* refers to the frieze of the Parthenon. — *The dying Alexander* is a head by that name at Florence, one of the finest pieces of ancient Greek sculpture. It has been thought to represent Alexander or Lysippus; but the best authorities think it was not intended for either.

In the twenty-third stanza *Nicolo the Pisan* is Nicolo Pisano, an architect and sculptor, who lived from 1207 to 1278. — *Cimabue* was the patron and teacher of Giotto, and lived from 1240 to 1302. He began the reform in art which Giotto developed, especially in his greater naturalness in design and expression. — Lorenzo *Ghiberti* lived from 1381 to 1455; and of his great work, the eastern doors of the Baptistery at Florence, Michael Angelo said they were worthy to be the gates of Paradise. — *Ghirlandajo* is the popular name of Domenico Bigordi, a great fresco painter of Florence who lived from 1449 to 1494.

In the twenty-sixth stanza *Sandro* Filipepi, usually called Botticelli, was a disciple of Savonarola, and painted mythological subjects. — *Lippino* is the popular name of Filippino Lippi, the son of Fra Lippo Lippi, and a successful Florentine painter who lived from 1460 to 1505. He was wronged because others were credited with his work. — *Fra Angelico*, the artistic name of Giovanni da Fiesole, the greatest of the distinctly Christian painters, who lived from 1387 to 1455. — *Taddeo Gaddi*, the godson and pupil of Giotto, was a painter and architect who carried on the building of the campanile after the death of his master; he lived from 1300 to 1366. — *Lorenzo Monaco* was a monk and painter, who followed the manner of Gaddi, and was more severe in manner than Fra Angelico.

In the twenty-seventh stanza, Antonio *Pollajolo* was a painter, sculptor, and goldsmith, who lived from 1430 to 1498. He was one of the first artists to study anatomy by dissection, and this knowledge he displayed in the muscular character of his portraits. — *Alesso Baldovinetti* was a Florentine painter of the fifteenth century, of little prominence.

In the twenty-eighth stanza *Margheritone* was a painter, sculptor, and architect of Arezzo, who lived from 1236 to 1313. He represented the ascetic and supernatural; and his chief subject was the crucifixion. His chief Madonna, now in the London National Gallery, is grim and weird. *The Browning Society's Papers* report that Browning possessed the *Crucifixion* here described, as well as the pictures by Alesso Baldovinetti, Taddeo Gaddi, and Pollajolo which he has described in the poem. Margheritone is depicted as in funeral garb because deeply annoyed at the success of Giotto.

In the thirtieth stanza *a certain precious little tablet* is thus mentioned in a letter written by Browning to Professor Corson: "The little tablet was a famous *Last Supper*, mentioned by Vasari, and gone astray long ago from the Church of S. Spirito; it turned up, according to report, in some obscure corner, while I was in Florence, and was at once acquired by a stranger. I saw it, genuine or no, a work of great beauty." — *Buonarroti* is Michael Angelo.

In the thirty-first stanza *San Spirito* is a fourteenth-century church in Florence. — *Ognissanti* is "All Saints" church of the same city. — The *Kohinoor* and *Giamschid* are among the largest diamonds; one owned by Queen Victoria, and the other by the Shah of Persia.

In the thirty-second stanza *a certain dotard* refers to Radetzky, then ninety-two years old, who governed the Austrian possessions in Italy. — The *Orgagna* of the thirty-third stanza, a Florentine painter of the school of Giotto, lived from 1315 to 1376.

The thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth stanzas refer to the uncompleted campanile. In his *Il Penseroso* Milton refers to the unfinished *Squire's Tale* of Chaucer,

> "Or call up him that left half-told
> The story of Cambuscan bold,"

and compares with it the uncompleted campanile. Giotto's plan of raising the campanile to the height of fifty braccia or about one hundred feet Browning hopes will be completed. In her *Casa Guidi Windows* Mrs. Browning refers to the campanile in the same spirit as the last stanza.

For further information about Giotto see Vasari as trans-

lated by Mrs. Jonathan Foster in *Bohn's Library*, Mrs. Oliphant's *Makers of Florence*, Mrs. Jameson's *Memoirs of Italian Painters*, Woltmann and Woermann's *History of Painting*, Heaton's *History of Painting* and Lübke's *History of Art*.

In his *Introduction to Browning* Corson gives extended notes, covering every allusion, historical or artistic, contained in the poem, and also two important notes contributed by Browning himself.

O lyric Love, half-angel and half-bird. The first line of the last stanza of Book I. of *The Ring and the Book*, addressed to Mrs. Browning. In the ninth number of *The Browning Society's Papers*, 2 : 165, Dr. F. J. Furnivall, the president of the Society, gives a grammatical analysis of this stanza. As it exemplifies the often complicated nature of Browning's grammatical constructions, this analysis is quoted entire, as follows : —

[*To Elizabeth Browning in Heaven.*]

Vocative. (1) O lyric Love, (2) half-angel and half-bird, 1391
(3) And all a wonder and a wild desire, —
(4) Boldest of hearts (*a*) that ever braved the sun,
(*b*) Took sanctuary within the holier blue,
(*c*) And sang a kindred soul out to his face ; — 1395
(5) Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart —

Adverb to *human*. (*x*) When the first summons from the darkling earth 1397
Reached thee amid thy chambers, (*y*) blanched their blue,
(*z*) And bared them of the glory — (*m*) to drop down,
To toil for man, (*o*) to suffer, (*p*) or to die, — 1400

(I) [R. B.'s] This is the same voice : (II) can thy soul know change ?
(III) Hail then, and (IV) hearken from the realms of help !
(V) Never may I commence my song, (*f*) my due
To God who best taught song by gift of thee,

Adverb to *commence*. (*w*) Except with bent head and beseeching hand — 1405
That still, (*u*) despite the distance and the dark,
What was, again may be ; (*g*) some interchange 1407
Of grace, (*h*) some splendour, once thy very thought,
(*i*) Some benediction, anciently thy smile : —

(VI) Never conclude, (*v*) but raising hand and head — 1410 — Adverb to *conclude.*

Adverb to *raising.*
- Thither where eyes, that cannot reach, yet yearn
- For all hope, all sustainment, all reward.
- Their utmost up and on, — (*t*) so blessing back — 1413

Adverb to *blessing.*
- In those thy realms of help, that heaven thy home,

Objects of *blessing.*
- Some whiteness which, I judge, thy face makes proud,
- Some wanness where, I think, thy foot may fall! — 1416

Adverb to *raising.*

"The two difficulties of the analysis lie in the 4-line adverb of time, line 1397–1400, (*x*) '*When the first summons*,' etc., and the 3½-line adverb of purpose, l. 1413–16, (*t*) '*so blessing back*,' etc.

"As to the 4-line adverb of time (*x*), tho it looks like an adverb to '*Took*' (l. 1394) and '*sang*' (l. 1395), it is really one to '*human*' (l. 1396), thus contrasting the Poetess's humanity at her death, with the '*half-angel and half-bird*' metaphor of line 1. So also (*m*, *o*, *p*), 'for the purpose of dropping down,' &c., are in like manner adverbs to '*human*.'[1]

"In the 3½-line adverb of purpose (*t*), '*so*' means 'by that act of *raising hand and head*.'

"The Poem thus starts with a Vocative of ten lines, l. 1391–1400, and is completed by six principal sentences, (I) to (VI).

"The 10-line Vocative consists of its nucleus-noun '*O Love*,' qualified by the one-worded adjective '*lyric*' and the 4 many-worded adjectives[2] (1) 'who wast *half-angel and half-bird*,' (2) '*and* who wast *all a wonder and a wild desire*,' (3) 'who wast the *Boldest of hearts*' (with its own adjectives (*a*, *b*, *c*), (4) '*Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart*.' These 4 many-worded adjectives take up 5½ lines, l. 1391–96. Then comes the 4-line many-worded adverb of time (*x*) already noticed. Its hook to its adjective '*human*' is the conjunction '*When*': and its subject '*summons*' has 3 predicates, '*Reached*,' '*blanched*,' '*bared*,' with their respective complements. The infinitives (*m*, *n*, *o*, *p*) '*to drop*,' &c., are also adverbs to '*human*,' as stated above.

"We come then to the principal sentences, of which the

[1] The Poet himself decided this for me.

[2] The 3d, *Boldest of hearts*, may well be made a Vocative.

short (I, II, III, IV), offer no difficulty. In (V), (*f*) '*my due*,' &c., can be taken either as a many-worded noun in apposition to '*song*,' or as an adjective ('which is *my due*') to it. Lines 1405–9 are a 5-line adverb of condition to '*commence*' in l. 1403, the clause '*That still*' to '*may-be*' being the complement of '*beseeching*': '*despite the distance and the dark*' is an adverb of condition to '*may be*'; and '*What was*' is a noun, with which, as above said, '*interchange*' (l. 1407), '*splendour*' (l. 1408), and '*benediction*' (l. 1409), are in apposition. Each of the last two nouns has its adjective, 'which was *once thy very thought*,' &c., 'which was *anciently thy smile*.'

"The 6th and last principal sentence, '*Never* may I *conclude*,' is followed by its 3-line adverb of condition '*but . . . reward*', l. 1410–12, of which the last 2½ lines are an adverb of place to '*raising*.' The clause '*where eyes . . . on*' is an adjective to '*Thither*' = to that place. Line 1412, '*For all hope*' is an adverb of purpose to '*yearn*,' whose object is '*Their utmost*,' l. 1413.

"Then comes, in l. 1413, the adverb of purpose (*t*) to '*raising*' already discussed. Its hook '*so*,' means 'by that act of *raising*.' In l. 1414, '*In those thy realms*' is an adverb of place to '*blessing*,'[1] whose two objects are '*whiteness*' and '*wanness*,' with their adjectives single- and many-worded. The '*whiteness*' is the glorified person, halo-robed, of the Poetess,— with, perchance, white-clad angels and saints — in Heaven[2]: the '*wanness*,' Heaven's lucent floor: and well may all and any Beings, create and increate, be proud of such a soul as Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

"The only other difficulty of interpretation is in line 5 of the Lyric, or 1395 of *The Ring and the Book*, '*And sang a kindred soul out to his face*.' This is part of the bird-, the lark-metaphor, and means that the dead Poetess, when she soared into the blue, sang out to the Sun, her soul which was akin to his, as life-giving, as pure, as bright."

On the subject of grammatical usage, Mrs. Orr says of Browning, in her *Handbook*: "He eschews many vulgar-

[1] *That heaven thy home* is a many-worded noun in apposition to *Those thy realms of help*.

[2] Miss Hervey says it is "the representation or reflex of Mrs. Browning's face."

isms or inaccuracies which custom has sanctioned, both in prose and verse, such as, 'thou wert'; 'better than *them* all'; 'he *need* not'; 'he *dare* not.' The universal 'I *had* better'; 'I *had* rather,' is abhorrent to him." Mrs. Orr having been criticized for this statement, and Browning's own usage quoted against her, she asked the poet if she had misrepresented him; and in reply he wrote her: —

"I make use of 'wast' for the second person of the perfect indicative, and 'wert' for the present potential, simply to be understood; as I should hardly be if I substituted the latter for the former, and therewith ended my phrase. 'Where wert thou, brother, those three days, had He not raised thee?' means one thing, and 'Where wast thou when He did so?' means another. That there is precedent in plenty for this and many similar locutions ambiguous, or archaic, or vicious, I am well aware, and that, on their authority, I *be* wrong, the illustrious poet *be* right, and you, our critic, *was* and shall continue to be my instructor as to 'everything that pretty *bin*.' As regards my objections to the slovenly 'I had' for 'I 'd,' instead of the proper 'I would,' I shall not venture to supplement what Landor has magisterially spoken on the subject. An adverb adds to, and does not by its omission alter into nonsense, the verb it qualifies. 'I would rather speak than be silent, better criticize than learn,' are forms structurally regular: what meaning is in 'I had speak,' 'had criticize?' Then, I am blamed for preferring the indicative to what I suppose may be the potential mood in the case of 'need' and 'dare' — just that unlucky couple; by all means go on and say 'He need help, he dare me to fight,' and so pair off with 'He need not beg, he dare not reply,' forms which may be expected to pullulate in this morning's paper.

"Venice, Oct. 25, 1885. R. B."

Once I saw a chemist take a pinch of powder. The first line of the eighth lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies*.

One Way of Love. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

A sequel to this poem is to be found in *Another Way of Love*. This poem has been set to music by E. C. Gregory; London, Novello, Ewer & Co.

One Word More. *Men and Women*, 1855.

This poem was written in London, September, 1855, and was addressed to Mrs. Browning. It is the counterpart to her *Portuguese Sonnets*, and proves that Browning's affection was quite as strong as hers. Although published as the last poem in *Men and Women*, it is in reality a dedication of the whole volume to her, as an expression of the new interest in men and women which their affection had awakened in him.

The biographers of Raphael do not mention his having written "a century of sonnets," though they say that he wrote four. Guido Reni purchased in Rome a book of Raphael's containing a hundred designs drawn by his hand, and this book Reni left to his heir, Signorini. Is it possible that Browning has substituted "sonnets" for "drawings" in his poem, in order to make his allusion more in harmony with his purpose? In his *Raphael of Urbino*, Passavant has this to say of Raphael's sonnets: —

"During the early part of his residence at Rome, in the flower of youth, and full of the brightest hopes, when he was occupied with the frescoes for the first Stanza of the Vatican, Raphael fell in love, and even endeavored to express his passion in three sonnets. The rough copies of these poems are written on several of the studies for the *Disputa*, preserved in the collections of Vienna, London, Oxford, and Montpellier.

"These sonnets do not possess a high poetic value. However, a certain grace may be perceived in them, especially in the following, the original of which is in the British Museum [spelling, indentation, etc., are as in Passavant]:

"'Un pensier dolce e rimembrare e godo
Di quello asalto, ma più gravo el danno
Del partir, ch' io restai como quei c' anno
In mar perso la stella, s' el ver odo.
O lingua di parlar disogli el nodo
A dir di questo inusitato inganno
Ch' amor mi fece per mio grave afanno
Ma lui più ne ringratio, e lei ne lodo.
L' ora sesta era, che l' ocaso un sole
Aveva fatto, e l' altro surce in locho
Ati più da far fati, che parole.
Ma io restai pur vinto al mio gran focho
Che mi tormenta, che dove l' on sole
Diserar di parlar, più riman fiocho.'

"But who could this young girl have been whom Raphael loved? All that we can say with any certainty is that she was named Margarita, for she is mentioned by this name, in a note written in the sixteenth century on the margin of an edition of Vasari of 1568, which belongs to the barrister Giuseppe Vannutelli at Rome. This note is written by the side of the passage in which Riviera, who served Raphael's mistress, is spoken of: *Ritratto di Margarita donna di Raffaello;* and by the side of these words, *che pareva viva*, the name Margarita is repeated.

"She has also been given the name of the Fornarina, and according to Missirini she was the daughter of a soda manufacturer, who lived near Santa Cecilia, on the other side of the Tiber. A small house, No. 20, in the street of Santa Dorotea, the windows of which are decorated with a pretty framework of earthenware, is pointed out as the house where she was born.

"The beautiful young girl was very frequently in a little garden adjoining the house, where, the wall not being very high, it was easy to see her from the outside. So the young men, especially the artists — always passionate admirers of beauty — did not fail to come and look at her, by climbing up above the wall.

"Raphael is said to have seen her for the first time as she was bathing her pretty feet in a little fountain in the garden. Struck by her perfect beauty, he fell deeply in love with her, and after having made acquaintance with her, and discovered that her mind was as beautiful as her body, he became so much attached as to be unable to live without her.

"This story is certainly very attractive, and it is supported by a small picture, attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo, in which Raphael is seated near the fountain in the garden, with his lady-love. But recent investigations have proved that this story is a pure invention, and even that the name of the Fornarina was only invented about the middle of the eighteenth century. We must, then, content ourselves with the very simple statement of Vasari — that Raphael loved a young girl, who lived with him, and to whom he was devotedly attached to the last moment of his life. . . . Two sentences of Vasari's and two portraits, are

all the authentic information we have as to the mistress of Raphael."

One of these portraits is in the Barberini palace in Rome, and the other is in the Pitti palace in Florence. The latter bears a strong resemblance to the *Madonna di San Sisto*, though the features of the Virgin are idealized. "Her form is powerful," says Herr Passavant, "her costume sumptuous, her beautiful black eyes flash, her mouth is refined and full of grace." In describing the picture itself, he says: "This remarkable portrait, preserved in the Pitti Gallery, Florence, represents a beautiful Roman maiden, seen three-quarters face, and turning to the left. Her hair is parted on the forehead, and put back behind her ears, leaving the perfect oval of her face completely visible. Her lustrous black eyes are full of life and fire, her complexion is pale, her nose rather short, and her well-formed lips are parted by a pleasing smile. A veil, fastened behind her head, falls gracefully on either side, completely covering the right arm, a necklace of black stones encircles her throat, her shoulders are covered with a white chemise, of which even the small plaits are distinctly visible, and a bodice trimmed with gold, with a sleeve of white damask, completes her costume. The first thing which strikes us in looking at this portrait is its singular resemblance to the Madonna di San Sisto, at Dresden; of course it is understood that this is a likeness from nature, and the Madonna an ideal creation, but at the same time it is evident that the woman here represented was Raphael's model for the Virgin in his famous work."

Grimm and Wolzogen do not agree with Passavant as to the portrait in the Pitti Gallery, that it is a picture of the Fornarina. Grimm is of the opinion that the portrait was not wholly painted by Raphael, and that it was not the original of the Sistine Madonna. Of Raphael's mistress, Wolzogen says: "Soon after his arrival in Rome, he appears to have formed an affection which only terminated with his death, though it cannot be considered quite certain whether it was always one and the same maiden whom he loved during this period. . . . She may have been the same maiden who, according to Vasari, was in Raphael's house at the time of his death, and upon whom he settled a comfortable maintenance in his will, but suppositions of this kind

belong rather to the treasures of fable than of truth. . . . Certain it is, that ever the same female figure appears in many of Raphael's studies and sketches; also a portrait painted by him in oils may lay decided claim to be a likeness of his beloved, even if not of her whom we designate the Fornarina. This picture, probably belonging to an earlier period, is not in the Barberini Palace in Rome; it represents a young maiden, not completely dressed, having only shortly before left her bath; she is sitting in a grove of myrtles and laurel-trees, her head encircled with a turban-like yellow-striped handkerchief; her right hand presses a transparent linen garment to her bosom, while her lap, on which her left hand rests, is covered with red drapery. Her left hand is adorned with a gold bracelet, and on this Raphael has written his own name. . . .

"But whether the *una sua Donna*, — who, according to Vasari, at one time so completely drew away the master from his work, that his friend Chigi at length could devise no other means than to bring the beautiful woman to him on his painter's scaffold, where she sat the whole day by his side, and he could carry on his work without being deprived of her company — whether this charmer was identical with the so-called Fornarina, and whether the four sonnets which were written in Raphael's handwriting on the back of some studies for the wall painting of the *Disputa*, and which are still in preservation, were addressed to this same beloved one or to some other, is not at all certain. So far alone we can safely assert, — that these ardent poems were written during the artist's residence in Rome (probably in 1508), and that he finished them off with great care, in spite of the overwhelming passion to which they certainly owe their origin. And I confess that this latter circumstance is to me far more interesting than all the investigations for details of Raphael's amours; for they excite the imagination tenfold on account of the obscurity in which they are wrapped. We perceive again, moreover, from this fact, that the master ever endeavored to make everything which he undertook as perfect as possible, and we thus gain a valuable addition to the completion of that portrait of his noble character which it is our object to delineate."

The four sonnets written by Raphael are all given in the

original Italian in Baron Alfred von Wolzogen's *Raphael Santi: His Life and his Works*, as translated into English by F. E. Bunnètt. The translations given in the same work are here reproduced: —

I.

'T is sweet in thought to embrace thee once again!
But waking from my dream, thy loss comes back;
And like some mariner who has lost his track,
And finds a starless heaven, I remain.
Let my tongue burst its fetters, and disclose
How Love destroyed me with his cunning ways,
And drew me down to my own loss and woes;
But, yet I thank his wiles, and her I praise.
'T was even, and one sun had long declined,
When in its place that other sun arose
With speechless action, utterance to find.
Thus have I been by cruel thoughts assailed
With their tormenting power; for when I pined
To vent my grief in words, all utterance failed.

II.

Love, that ensnar'st me with thy magic light
From eyes that melt me into hope and fears;
Like snow on roses lying she appears
From word and actions to inspire delight.
Until so warm my flame, that no sea wave
Could quench the burning ardor that I know;
Yet revelling in the flame I feel its glow,
Nor wish from its consuming power to save.
How sweetly passive was she when controll'd;
Throwing her white arms as a chain around,
Until it seemed like death to loose their hold.
Yet pause I here, tho' still my thoughts abound;
For joys excessive, fatal powers enfold;
Yet while I cease, to thee my thoughts are bound.

III.

As Paul from mortal ear those words withheld
Which he had heard in Paradise above,
So round my heart is drawn a veil of love,
By which my thoughts in secrecy are held.
Hence all I did and all that sight revealed,
From my own bosom none shall dare to know;
And my dark locks to silvery white shall grow,
Ere night shall open all that lies concealed.
Yet see my passion, and vouchsafe this grace,
That being thine, it may be granted me,
That thou wouldst burn a little for my flame;

And if my prayers with thee may find a place,
Ne'er would I pause thy piteous help to claim
Until the powers of utterance silent be.

IV.

Sad thought! that unto thee I gave my heart,
Seeking for peace, and finding nought but pain;
Seest thou the bitter anguish and the smart
With which life's fairest years are from me ta'en?
But ye, my efforts, and thou, aching grief,
Waken the thought that had in slumber lain,
And point to paths, ascending which I gain
Sublimer heights that may afford relief.

The last sonnet is not complete; but it expresses a different spirit than the completed ones, no less of passion, but a passion more moral in purpose, and deeply conscious of the need to use genius for the sake of true artistic accomplishment.

Raphael painted as many as fifty Madonnas, several of which are mentioned in the poem. The *Sistine Madonna* is in the Dresden Gallery. The *Madonna di Foligno* is in the Vatican. In a note to Mr. W. J. Rolfe, Browning wrote: "The Madonna at Florence is that called *del Granduca*, which represents her as 'appearing to a votary in a vision' — so say the describers; it is in the earlier manner, and very beautiful. I think I meant *La Belle Jardinière* — but am not sure — for the picture in the Louvre." Of the *Madonna del Granduca*, Passavant says: "The bold, commanding, and luminous style in which the painting stands out from the background makes the figure and divine expression of the head impressive. Thanks to all these qualities united, this Madonna produces the effect of a supernatural apparition. In short, it is one of the masterpieces of Raphael." The Louvre Madonna is seated in the midst of a garden, in which there are lilies — hence the name.

Dante's love for Beatrice, as celebrated in his *La Vita Nuova* and *Divina Commedia*, is the subject of the second reference in the poem. Perhaps no woman has ever been celebrated with a more perfect affection than that which Dante gave to Beatrice, and yet it is difficult to say how much of it is real and how much the idealization of the poet.

The *pen corroded* refers to the manner in which Dante punishes in his great poem those who were his personal enemies. — *The live man's flesh for parchment* refers to no special incident either in the life of Dante or in the *Commedia*.

Lionardo Aretino said: "Dante was an excellent draughtsman." Giotto was his intimate friend; and it is said that Dante suggested many of the finest of Giotto's pictures. Giotto tried to do in art what Dante did in poetry, — open it to the understanding of the people. Dante undoubtedly shared in the artistic spirit of his time, and was fully capable of appreciating it. On this point of Dante's interest in painting we have the testimony of Boccaccio, in his biography of the poet. "He loved passionately the fine arts," wrote Boccaccio, "even those which — like painting — were not immediately connected with poetry. In his youth he had taken lessons of Cimabue, the last and the most celebrated of the painters who composed in what is called the Greek manner; he was afterwards very intimate with Giotto, the successor of Cimabue, whom he eclipsed, and the real creator of modern painting. Dante had intimate relations with the celebrated singers and musicians of his time; being gifted with a fine voice, he sang agreeably, and with much enthusiasm; it was his favorite way of expressing the emotions of his soul, more especially when they were of a gentle and happy nature." The reference in the poem is to the thirty-fifth section of Dante's *La Vita Nuova*, which was written on the first anniversary of the death of Beatrice, June 9, 1291. As translated by Prof. C. E. Norton, Dante said of his effort to paint a picture: —

"On that day on which the year was complete since this lady was made one of the denizens of life eternal, I was seated in a place where, having her in mind, I was drawing an angel upon certain tablets. And while I was drawing it, I turned mine eyes and saw at my side men to whom it was meet to do honor. They were looking on what I did, and, as was afterwards told me, they had been there already some time before I became aware of it. When I saw them I rose, and, saluting them, said, 'Another was just now with me, and on that account I was in thought.' And when they had gone away, I returned unto my work, namely,

that of drawing figures of angels; and while doing this a thought came to me of saying words in rhyme, as if for an anniversary poem of her, and of addressing those persons who had come to me."

"Men to whom it was meet to do honor" Browning translates as "certain people of importance." It does not appear from the *Vita Nuova* that these men of importance had any design against Dante, as Browning seems to indicate.

Browning next compares himself with Moses, as he is described in Numbers xx. and elsewhere in the Pentateuch.

The *Samminiato* of the fifteenth section is the church of San Miniato, Florence, a conspicuous object in that city. "Samminiato" gives the proper pronunciation of the name. — *Zoroaster* was the founder of the Persian religion, of which the *Zend Avesta* is the sacred book. He was in the habit of pacing a terrace when meditating on the wonders of the heavens, which are so important in his religion. — *Galileo* had a turret for his astronomical observations. — Browning was a very great admirer of *Keats*, as may be seen by tracing out the references to him in the present volume.

See Rolfe, Sharp, and Nettleship.

On the Poet: Objective and Subjective. In 1852, Moxon, London, published *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, which purported to be a series of twenty-five newly discovered letters of Shelley's, which had never before been in print. For this volume Browning was asked by Moxon to write an introductory essay, which he did, and dated it "Dec., 1851," having written it in Paris.

After the volume was ready for publication, it was discovered that the letters were forgeries. This discovery was accidentally made by Francis Turner Palgrave, who found in one of these letters a portion of an article which his father, Sir Francis Palgrave, had contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, in 1840, the subject being Florence. Moxon thereupon withheld the edition and began to make inquiries about the letters. The post-office authorities after examination pronounced them genuine. A more careful examination showed that the post-marks were not the same as genuine letters mailed in Italian cities at the time indicated on the Shelley letters. So far, however, as concerned the seals of the

letters, the handwriting, their manner and matter, they appeared to be genuine. The letters were bought of a well-dressed, lady-like young person, who gave no account of herself. It was clearly proved, however, that the letters were forgeries. Moxon at once suppressed the edition, half a dozen copies only having passed out of the publishers' hands. The letters have disappeared from Shelley literature, the essay written by Browning, on the functions of the poet, alone remaining: it was reprinted in 1881, as the first number of *The Browning Society's Papers*, with the consent of the poet. In a second edition it was printed with *A Bibliography of Robert Browning*, compiled by Frederick J. Furnivall, 1882. In his "foretalk" to the essay Mr. Furnivall said: "The main subject of the essay is Shelley, his life, his nature, work, and art. And to any reader of *Pauline* and *Memorabilia*, it will be no surprise to find that it was the dream of Browning's boyhood to render some signal service to Shelley's fame and memory; while to the student and lover of Shelley, what can be more worthful than the criticism and loving tribute of a mind and spirit like Browning's? But it was not the praise or estimate of Shelley that drew me to this essay; it was Browning's statement of his own aim in his own work, both as objective and subjective poet, that so much interested me and that makes the essay a necessity to every student of Browning who would understand him."

The title given to the essay in the reprint is Mr. Furnivall's. In the Shelley letters it was called *Introductory Essay*.

See *Browning Bibliography*, and *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 592, for an account of the *Shelley Letters*, the detection of the forgery, and the writing of the essay by Browning.

Ottima. The wife of Luca, who has, with her paramour Sebald, just murdered her husband, in *Pippa Passes*.

Overhead the tree-tops meet. The song of Pippa in *Pippa Passes*, as she nears the house of the bishop, vol. i. p. 364, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works*.

Over the sea our galleys went. The third song in *Paracelsus*, sung by Paracelsus himself, vol. i. p. 96, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works*. This song has been set to music by Ethel Harraden; London, C. Jeffreys.

Pacchiarotto and how he worked in Distemper: with other Poems. London, July, 1876: Smith, Elder and Co. Pages, i.–viii., 1–241; *Pacchiarotto* occupied pages 4–46. The "other poems" were: At the Mermaid; House; Shop; Pisgah-Sights; Fears and Scruples; Natural Magic; Magical Nature; Bifurcation; Numpholeptos; Appearances; St. Martin's Summer; Hervé Riel; A Forgiveness; Cenciaja; Filippo Baldinucci on the Privilege of Burial; Epilogue.

Jacopo Pacchiarotto is often mistaken for Girolamo del Pacchia; and it is this mistaken identity which the poet discusses in the opening part of the poem. Pacchia was the son of an Hungarian cannon-founder, and was born in Siena, in 1477. He became a member of the revolutionary club called "Bardotti," and when the club was broken up by the authorities in 1535, he disappeared. Nothing is known of him after that date. He did some good work as a painter, his best piece being the *Nativity of the Virgin* in the chapel of Saint Bernardino, Siena. His pictures were at one time ascribed to Perugino, and then to Pacchiarotto. It is only quite recently that more careful researches have served to identify him as a separate individuality.

Pacchiarotto was born in Siena in 1474. He became a painter and worked in the manner of Perugino; but no authenticated work of his has any merit. In 1530 he joined the "Libertini" and "Popolani," which sought a greater measure of popular liberty by revolutionary methods. To the same ends he connected himself with the "Bardotti," in 1534; and when this organization was suppressed, the following year, he was obliged to go into hiding. The Observantine Fathers concealed him in a tomb in the church of St. John; but the space was narrow, he had to lie by the side of a recently buried corpse, he became covered with vermin, and by the second day he was little better than a corpse himself. Quietly he went back to his work, after the excitement of the moment had passed by. In 1539 he was banished from the city, but he was recalled the following year, and soon after died.

The old accounts of Pacchiarotto say that he fled to France in 1535, where he joined Il Rossi; and there these accounts say he died. Also various works are falsely at-

tributed to him, which are really the productions of Pacchia. Some accounts make Pacchia another name for Pacchiarotto.

Contemporary with Pacchiarotto lived Gianantonio Bazzi, who as a painter was called Il Sodoma. The family name of this painter was for a long time known as Razzi, owing to the misreading of a document. It is now proved to have been Bazzi. It is to this misnamed painter, and his rival Beccafumi, that the poet refers at the end of the second section of the poem.

The commentary added to the Florence edition of Vasari's *Lives*, 1855, gives an account of Pacchiarotto. It is this which Browning followed in writing his poem. What is there said of his connection with political affairs is here reproduced.

"Tumults and bloodshed were spread throughout the land, principally from the deeds of certain renegades called the Venturieri, with whom our Pacchiarotto having been identified, it happened that one night whilst, as was their custom, they were scouring the streets with loud cries and defying the Nine, the former were assaulted by the latter unawares, and threatened with immediate death unless they left the city. . . .

"Il Pacchiarotto, leading his company of Stalloreggi within the gates, had comported himself very bravely in all these factions. But, being of an excitable and uneasy disposition, easy to take offense, and ready to pick a quarrel at any moment, it ill suited him to rest with his hands in his pockets. There were also some reckless and discontented men among the poorer classes, who were his companions, and they went about secretly trying to produce disturbances, which having reached the knowledge of the government they caught dal Bargello, and confined him in his palace with the admonition not to leave it under penalty of one hundred golden ducats. Il Pacchiarotto was so angry that he made use of very disrespectful language against the State, for which he was confined six months at Talamone, and put on soldier's stipends in the company of Captain Bartolommeo Peretti. But at the instigation of Achille Salvi, five months of his imprisonment were revoked, and he was sent at the end of his sentence to his estates in Viteccio.

"During the exile of Fabio and the murder of Alessandro Bichi, a new sect of people sprung up in Siena, who from their open avowals of lawless principles were called the Libertines. These, having become arrogant, on account of success having been on their side in every faction against the tyrants of the city, as they called them, and even against foreign enemies, these Libertines therefore meddled with every important scheme of the Republic, and tried to gain all the honors and high offices for themselves. . . .

"They called upon the common people to aid them, making many promises to help them in return, which was the occasion that the common people and artisans of lowest extraction were turned aside from their daily life, and their time occupied in attending meetings where they listened to incendiary language against the affairs of the State. . . .

"Out of these meetings sprung the Congregation or Academy called the Bardotti, a name which really had no other significance than that which they chose to give it: an easy life at the public expense. This Academy had its laws and statutes. . . . They kept, as their principal festival, the feast of Saint Catherine of Siena, and every new member paid ten soldi as an entrance fee and three soldi every month. In the reunions which the Bardotti held, they used to read the works of Livy, Vegetius, and Machiavelli, on the arts of war, or sometimes they exercised with the broadsword or drilled, in order to be quick and dexterous in assaults and battle. To this effect, they had engaged at a high price two of the most skillful fencing masters in the city. At certain seasons of the year, they had representations of some Greek or Roman story, in order better to set forth their achievements in this direction. To any one, whom they heard had in any way spoken unfavorably of the Academy or its associates, they sent circulars and an open challenge, asserting themselves ready to maintain their honor and their rights. If any of the associates by ill luck were sick, in exile, or in any other dire necessity, they promptly and tenderly succored them with money and in person.

"Among the principal and most ardent of the Bardotti was our Giacomo, whose head was so turned by the whims and vagaries of the State, that among many of his foolish

pranks, it is related, that in a room of his house which was situated on the Via Laterino, he had painted many faces, so that, standing in the midst of them, he appeared to be holding a long discussion, as if they in turn replied, and as their lord revered and honored him. These meetings of the Bardotti and their intentions caused great distrust and anxiety to the government, which feared lest their words and their counsels should produce some bad effect; which, in fact, was not long in coming to pass. In 1533 the city was reduced to famine. . . . The Bardotti held a large gathering in the church of San Francesco, and there consulted what to do. They issued forth, having held mass in the square of the Duomo, and resolved to scour the city, and to kill every citizen whom they should meet. But not being able to decide upon any one to be their head and guide of this undertaking, they suddenly took fright and disbanded quietly.

"In consequence of the magistrates giving little importance to this proceeding, the Bardotti grew more insolent and bold, and no longer concealed their animosity against the nobles and the government. Therefore several influential citizens, whom the existing state of affairs much displeased, had an interview with the rulers of the city. . . . They resolved that, owing to the great and impending danger, summary remedies must be applied, that having vainly used clemency, they now had to apply severity. To give proper effect to these intentions, they only awaited an opportunity; it was not long in presenting itself. A butcher having wounded one of the magistrates of the Quattro del Sale, was suddenly seized by the sheriff, and without formal proceeding, fastened by the neck to the window of the palace. And the same condign punishment was administered a few days afterwards to another one of the common people.

"The Bardotti, believing circumstances to be of bad augury for them, had recourse to the aid and counsels of a few citizens who formerly had favored them; but receiving from them only reproofs for their misdeeds, and no promises to protect them from justice, and terrified by their impending fate, they fled and hid themselves. Il Pacchiarotto, likewise, seized with great terror, wandered about like one demented throughout the city, thinking the sheriff was

always dogging his footsteps in order to seize him and take him to prison. Finally he went into the parish church of San Giovanni, and saw a tomb where but recently had been covered a dead body; he pushed it aside, and fixed himself there, as best he could, and covered the tomb over with the stone. Here he remained in intense suffering of mind and body during two days, at the end of which time, half dead with hunger and the insupportable stench of the corpse, and covered with vermin, he fled through one of the gates of the city, which leads to the house of refuge of the brothers of the Observance. La Balia, learning the good effects that had been produced by the prompt and severe justice which befell the people of the lower classes, wished to proceed to at once extirpate to the very roots the cause of the evil. He therefore ordered that the Bardotti, under penalty of his wrath, must desist from holding their assemblies, and the Academy by that name be dissolved. . . .

"Il Pacchiarotto, when he thought the storm had passed, quietly returned to Siena, and, having been made aware by bitter experience what his follies had cost him, he resolved to apply himself to his work and no longer meddle with the affairs of State. But after a few years discords arose, not only between the people and the rulers, but among the people themselves. The rulers, who trembled lest their severities should give birth to new disorders, began to diligently look into the lives of those, who, in the past tumults, had shown themselves the most unruly and insolent. Among others Il Pacchiarotto, on account of his misdeeds, was found to merit chastisement, and therefore he was put under perpetual banishment, and deprived of all rights in the city and in the dominion, the 17th November, 1539, pardon being promised to whomever should kill him.

"Our painter was now forced to wander in foreign lands. But when nine months had elapsed, Girolamo's wife, who was poor and burdened with two daughters, applied to La Balia, who was touched with compassion and remitted his sentence on the 17th August, 1540, giving him strict orders not to reënter the city without permission, under penalty of his pardon being revoked. Thus, shattered in mind and body, and with the weight of years beginning to oppress him, he was conducted to his estates in Viteccio, where,

after so many perils and hardships, only a few years were left for him to pass from this life to the next!"

The same work gives a sketch of the life of *Girolamo del Pacchia*, to whom Browning frequently refers throughout the poem. Many of the poet's allusions will be best understood by reading in full the Vasari account of this painter's life: —

"There lived and worked in Siena, at the same time as Giacomo Pacchiarotto, another painter whose name was Girolamo del Pacchia, whose memory, through the injustice of fate, has remained until now so confused and uncertain, enveloped in clouds as it were, that for that very reason we seek to bring it to light, to celebrate it in the most suitable manner that his virtues justly demand. The principal reason of this mistake has been occasioned by the similarity of his surname with that of Giacomo, of whom we have been talking. Because students reading in Vasari that a Girolamo del Pacchia painted in competition with Sodoma in the oratory of San Bernardino di Siena, they would naturally conjecture that Giacomo Pacchiarotto alone was meant, to whom without any discernment would be in consequence assigned not only all those works that were his, but besides other and better ones, and those which had been much more carefully painted by the hand of our Girolamo: therefore, out of two workmen they would only make one.

"The subject of our sketch was born in Agram, a city of Hungary. His father was Giovanni di Giovanni, a cannon maker, who, having come to live in Siena, married there a woman by the name of Apollonia di Antonio del Zazzera, and this son was born to them in January, 1477. His father died when he was about a year old. Girolamo remained with his mother, who, being very poor, had great difficulty in educating her son. When a young man he was apprenticed to the best painter in the city, in order to learn drawing: he remained several years and became quite proficient in drawing and painting. Then he went to Florence, where he visited and studied the works of the masters then in the best repute. From that time until 1500 he was at Rome, where he remained some time studying and working. Among the works which he made in that city is a painting of the *Transfiguration*, in the church at

Araceli. Although some assert it to be by Girolamo da Sermoneta, nevertheless we, following more readily the opinions of Padre Ugurgieri, proclaim it to be by our Girolamo. It appears to us that a work called Raphaelesque by Lanzi cannot be by the hand of Sermoneta, who began to work and be known when Pacchia was dead; therefore it is reasonable that, in the works of the Sienese painter, rather than in those of Sermoneta, who was the scholar of Perino del Vaga and lived long after him, is sometimes met the manner of dell' Urbinate.

"Girolamo returned after a few years to Siena, and in 1508 he painted for the monks of Certosa di Pontignano a picture of Our Lady, to whom Saint Bruno and Saint Catherine are being presented by Saint Peter. . . .

"There are still to be seen in the oratory of the aforesaid San Bernardino works of Girolamo, painted about the year 1518, in the form of three frescoes. In one of these, which extends on both sides of the altar, is represented the Annunciation and the Angel; in another, which is on the walls at the left, as you look when you enter the church, is the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. In the third is depicted Saint Bernardino of Siena. And although he had for rivals Il Sodoma and Il Beccafumi, who were painting at the same time, he was in no wise inferior to them; he undoubtedly excelled Beccafumi, who in his designs showed very poor and meagre work, whilst the figures of Girolamo are treated in a broad manner, with glowing robes, and expression, particularly noticeable in his female faces, of great gentleness and naturalness. Il Pacchia painted in the same year for the Frati Predicatori di San Spirito an altar-piece representing the Annunciation, in which the perspective of columns and arches is so fine, and the little cherubs sitting on the supports of the arches so natural and life-like, that it is most delightful to see. This picture is no longer to be seen in its place, having been transported to the gallery of the Institute of Fine Arts. Likewise in the same church is another picture, in which may be seen Mary ascended to heaven and crowned by her Divine Son, with a halo of most lovely angels, while underneath are kneeling Saint Peter and Saint Paul. In the church of Saint Christopher, at the altar of the Bandinelli, there is a Madonna with the infant

in her arms seated on a throne, with, at the sides, directly under her feet, Saint Luke the Evangelist, and the blessed Raimondo of the Order of Camaldoli, who has chained up the devil. This work is much prized, and is truly very beautiful in all its details. It is one of the best that he ever did. He also painted a picture for the high altar of the Society of San Sebastian in Camollia, in 1519. . . .

"Girolamo joined the Society of Rozzi with the name of *Dondolone :* and he became a member of the Bardotti in the year 1533. When and where he died is not known, but it is certain that after 1535 all traces of him in Siena are lost. Therefore the opinion of Julius Mancini, a Sienese author, does not seem unlikely, when he affirms that Il Pacchia, after the dispersion and overthrow of the Bardotti, fled to France, and painted for King Francis at Fontainebleau some pictures which are signed Rosso, painter from Florence."

The word *Bardotti* means spare or freed horses, and is applied to those reformers of the time of Pacchiarotto who wished to correct social and political abuses, but without themselves bearing the burdens of service to the city.

The *Kirkup* mentioned at the beginning of the poem was Baron Kirkup, a connoisseur in literature and art, who was numbered among Browning's Florentine friends. He was ennobled by the King of Italy, because of his literary and patriotic services to his country. He discovered a portrait of Dante in the Bargello at Florence.

The *Epilogue*, which is an attack upon the critics of the poet, begins with a quotation from Mrs. Browning's poem entitled *Wine of Cyprus.*

See *Academy*, Edward Dowden, July 29, 1876 ; *Athenæum*, July 22, 1876.

Palma. The leading woman character in *Sordello*, the patron of the poet of that name, and about to assume a nearer relation. See under *Sordello.*

Pambo. *Jocoseria*, 1883.

This poem is based on a story told in *The Wonders of the Little World ; or, A General History of Man*, written by Nathaniel Wanley, vicar of Trinity Parish, Coventry, and filled with every kind of curious information about men and their ways. Chapter four of the third book is "Of the

Veracity of some Persons, and their great Love of Truth: and Hatred of Flattery and Falsehood." In this chapter is the following: —

"Pambo came to a learned man, and desired him to teach him some Psalm; he began to read to him the thirty-ninth, and the first verse, which is: 'I said, I will look to my ways, that I offend not with my tongue.' Pambo shut the book, and took his leave, saying, 'he would go learn that point.' And having absented himself for some months he was demanded by his teacher, 'when he would go forward?' He answered, 'That he had not yet learned his old lesson, to speak in such a manner as not to offend with his tongue.' *Chetw. Hist. cent. I. p. 17.*"

The story of Pambo is first told in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, Book IV. chap. xxiii., which contains "A list of holy monks who devoted themselves to a solitary life." In this chapter Socrates gives an account of the monks of Egypt, as they existed in the year 373, and relates many anecdotes of them. Of Pambo he says, as translated in Bohn's *Ecclesiastical Library:* "Pambos, being an illiterate man, went to some one for the purpose of being taught a psalm; and having heard the first verse of the thirty-eighth, 'I said I will take heed to my ways that I offend not with my tongue,' he departed without staying to hear the second verse, saying this one would suffice if he could practically acquire it. And when the person who had given him the verse reproved him because he had not seen him for the space of six months, he answered that he had not yet learnt to practice the verse of the psalm. After a considerable lapse of time, being asked by one of his friends whether he had made himself master of the verse, his answer was, 'I have scarcely succeeded in accomplishing it during nineteen years.' A certain individual having placed gold in his hands for distribution to the poor, requested him to reckon what he had given him. 'There is no need of counting,' said he, 'but of integrity of mind.' The same Pambos, at the desire of Athanasius the bishop, came out of the desert to Alexandria; and on beholding an actress there, he wept. When those present asked him the reason of his doing so he replied, 'Two causes have affected me: one is, the destruction of this woman; the other

is, that I exert myself less to please my God, than she does to please wanton characters.' "

Pan and Luna. *Dramatic Idyls*, Second Series, 1880.

Pan was the Greek god of flocks and shepherds, the chief place of his worship being in Arcadia. He had charge of pastoral life, and was intimately associated with it in mythology and poetry. He had a terrific voice, was of a coarse and rude appearance, was fond of noise and riot, slumbered at midday, and was fond of music. Luna was the Roman goddess of the moon, fair, delicate, and beautiful. The basis of the poem is an allusion in the third of the *Georgics* of Virgil. The motto is from the same, and means, "If it is proper to be credited," or, "If no disrespect is implied." Probus says that Pan, being in love with Luna, made her a present of his whitest sheep, thus deceiving her, as the whitest fleeces were not unfailing indications of the best sheep. Virgil said, in the translation of Wilstach: —

> "Is wool thy care? See, first, that bushes rough
> And burs and thorns find in thy field no place;
> Nor let the food be rich, and always sheep
> With fleeces soft and white do thou select.
> The ram, although he may a white fleece show,
> Yet 'neath his palate moist may have a tongue
> That 's black; if so, reject thou him, lest spots
> Of darkish hue may stain the lambs' pure coats,
> And round the field look for a better choice.
> Thus (if the tale to credit to the Gods
> No disrespect implies) thee, Luna, Pan,
> Arcadia's God, deceived, and prisoner made,
> Thee in the deep groves wooing with a gift
> Of snowy fleeces soft, thou not at all
> Thy wooer spurning from thy silvery arms."

Browning has taken the brief hint of these last lines from Virgil and expanded them into his poem, giving to Luna a modesty not suggested by the older poet. This is a good illustration of how the slightest hint was turned by Browning into a fruitful source of poetic creation.

Paracelsus. In the poem of that name, one who aspires to know, who desires truth, and who cares for naught else. He represents the aspiring, seeking intellect, or the spirit of reason and science. Browning indicates that his failure comes because he is too exclusively wedded to knowledge, because he has not the "enthusiasm of Humanity," as it has been called.

Paracelsus. Published by Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, London, 1835. Pages, i.–xi., 1–216, post 8vo. "Inscribed to the Comte A. de Ripert-Monclar, by his affectionate friend, Robert Browning," which was changed to "Inscribed to Amédée de Ripert-Monclar by his affectionate friend. R. B. London, March 15, 1835." Reprinted as the first work in *Poems*, 1849. The original MS. is in the Forster Library at South Kensington.

Paracelsus was begun about the close of October or the first of November, 1834, was written during the following winter, and was completed in March, 1835. In his *Personalia* Mr. Gosse says of the writing of this poem: "This work has had so many admirers that it needs, perhaps, a little courage to say that it was surely not so important as a sign of its author's genius as the little pieces just mentioned. . . . It is a drama of a shapeless kind, parent in this sort of a monstrous family of *Festuses*, and *Balders*, and *Life Dramas*, only quite lately extirpated, and never any more, it is hoped, to flourish above ground. . . . We cannot forget that it is a drama in which one of the characters, more than once, expresses himself in upward of three hundred lines of unbroken soliloquy. The precedent was bad, as all disregard of the canons of poetic form is apt to be; and in the hands of his imitators Mr. Browning must often have shuddered at his own contorted reflection. The public refused to have anything to say to so strange a poem: very few copies sold, and the reviews were contemptuously adverse. The *Athenæum*, even, which had received *Pauline* so warmly, dismissed *Paracelsus* with a warning to the author that it was useless to reproduce the obscurity of Shelley minus his poetic beauty. But certain finer minds here and there recognized the treasury of power and genius concealed in this crabbed shape. The *Examiner*, in particular, contained a review of the poem at great length, in which full justice was done to Mr. Browning's genius. This, again, was the commencement of a memorable intimacy. But in the mean time the young poet formed the acquaintance of one of the most striking personages of that generation — Macready, the tragedian. This happened at a dinner at the house of W. J. Fox on the 27th of November, 1835. The actor was exceedingly charmed with the

young and ardent writer, who, he said, looked more like a poet than any man he had ever met. He read *Paracelsus* with a sort of ecstasy, and cultivated Mr. Browning's acquaintance on every occasion. He asked him to spend New Year's Day with him at his country-house at Elstree, and on the last day of 1835 Mr. Browning found himself at 'The Blue Posts' waiting for the coach, in company with two or three other persons, who looked at him with curiosity. One of these, a tall, ardent, noticeable young fellow, constantly caught his eye, but no conversation passed as they drove northward. It turned out that they were all Macready's guests, while the noticeable youth was no other than John Forster. He, on being introduced to Mr. Browning said: 'Did you see a little notice of you I wrote in the *Examiner*?' The friendship so begun lasted, with a certain interval, until the end of Forster's life."

The preface to the first edition of *Paracelsus* has since been omitted, but it is very important to the understanding of Browning's purpose in the writing of the poem, and is here reproduced as a part of the history of the work: —

"I am anxious that the reader should not, at the very outset, — mistaking my performance for one of a class with which it has nothing in common, — judge it by principles on which it was never moulded, and subject it to a standard to which it was never meant to conform. I therefore anticipate his discovery, that it is an attempt, probably more novel than happy, to reverse the method usually adopted by writers whose aim it is to set forth any phenomenon of the mind or the passions, by the operation of persons and events; and that, instead of having recourse to an external machinery of incidents to create and evolve the crisis I desire to produce, I have ventured to display somewhat minutely the mood itself in its rise and progress, and have suffered the agency by which it is influenced and determined to be generally discernible in its effects alone, and subordinate throughout, if not altogether excluded: and this for a reason. I have endeavored to write a poem, not a drama: the canons of the drama are well known, and I cannot but think that, inasmuch as they have immediate regard to stage representation, the peculiar advantages they

hold out are really such only so long as the purpose for which they were at first instituted is kept in view. I do not very well understand what is called a Dramatic Poem, wherein all those restrictions only submitted to on account of compensating good in the original scheme are scrupulously retained, as though for some special fitness in themselves, — and all new facilities placed at an author's disposal by the vehicle he selects, as pertinaciously rejected. It is certain, however, that a work like mine depends on the intelligence and sympathy of the reader for its success, — indeed, were my scenes stars, it must be his cöoperating fancy which, supplying all chasms, shall connect the scattered lights into one constellation — a Lyre or a Crown. I trust for his indulgence towards a poem which had not been imagined six months ago; and that even should he think slightingly of the present (an experiment I am in no case likely to repeat) he will not be prejudiced against other productions which may follow in a more popular, and perhaps less difficult form.

"15th March, 1835."

The selection of Paracelsus for the subject of a poem indicated on the part of Browning a very considerable interest in the form of thought which that strange character represents. Other poems indicate a like interest in Ibn Ezra, Cornelius Agrippa, Jacob Boehme, and other mystical or transcendental thinkers, many traces of whose thought are to be found in this particular poem. It was not by accident he selected these men for the subjects of his poems, or merely because of an interest in mediæval topics. In these men he found something congenial to his own thinking, for their intense belief in the spiritual world and in man's capacity to control it with reference to his own destiny, had a special charm for him. The daring speculations of Paracelsus afforded him an opportunity for bringing forward his own conceptions of life and destiny, and gave him a congenial and fitting subject.

Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim was born in 1493, or perhaps in 1490 or 1491, different authorities giving different dates. He was the natural son of Wilhelm Bombast von Hohenheim, who was a grand master of the Teutonic

order, and his mother was the matron of a hospital in Einsiedeln. The place of the birth of Theophrastus was Einsiedeln, in the canton of Schwyz, and only a short distance from the city of Zurich. The family moved about the year 1502 to Villach in Carinthia, and there the father discharged his duties as a physician until his death in 1534.

When Theophrastus began his career he adopted the name of Paracelsus, which was of his own origination, his purpose being, according to one interpretation, to express his own superiority to Celsus. Another explanation of the word is that it is a Latin translation of Höhener, or perhaps of Hohenheim. His first teacher was his father. At sixteen he became a student of the University of Basel or Basle, but he soon left because not satisfied with the teaching. "In his early youth," says Hartmann, "Paracelsus obtained instructions in science from his father, who taught him the rudiments of alchemy, surgery, and medicine. He always honored the memory of his father, and always spoke in the kindest terms of him, who was not only his father, but also his friend and instructor. He afterwards continued his studies under the tuition of the monks of the convent of St. Andrew, — situated in the valley of Savon, — under the guidance of the learned bishops, Eberhardt Baumgartner, Mathias Scheydt of Rottgach, and Mathias Schacht of Freisingin. After leaving the university he was instructed by the celebrated Johann Trithemius of Spanheim, abbot of St. Jacob at Würzburg (1461 – 1516), one of the greatest adepts of magic, alchemy, and astrology, and it was under this teacher that his talents for the study of occultism were especially cultivated and brought into practical use."

"Trithemius," says Professor John Ferguson, "is the reputed author of some obscure tracts on the great elixir, and as there was no other chemistry going, Paracelsus would have to devote himself to the reiterated operations so characteristic of the notions of that time. But the confection of the stone of the philosophers was too remote a possibility to gratify the fiery spirit of a youth like Paracelsus, eager to make what he knew or could learn at once available for practical medicine. So he left school chemistry as he had forsaken university culture, and started for the mines in Tyrol owned by the wealthy family of the Fuggers. The

sort of knowledge he got there pleased him much more. There, at least, he was in contact with reality. The struggle with nature before the precious metals could be made of use impressed upon him more and more the importance of actual personal observation. He saw all the mechanical difficulties that had to be overcome in mining; he learned the nature and succession of rocks, the physical properties of minerals, ores, and metals; he got a notion of mineral waters; he was an eye-witness of the accidents which befell the miners, and studied the diseases which attacked them; he had proof that positive knowledge of Nature was not to be got in schools and universities, but only by going to Nature herself, and to those who were constantly engaged with her. Hence came Paracelsus's peculiar method of study. He attached no value to mere scholarship; scholastic disputations he utterly ignored and despised — and especially the discussions on medical topics, which turned more upon theories and definitions than upon actual practice. He therefore went wandering over a great part of Europe to learn all that he could."

It is not to be understood that Paracelsus carried on the study of nature in the modern scientific spirit, for he was too much a man of his time to accomplish anything so unusual. He had not wholly freed himself from the occultism of the Middle Ages or from the love of astrology. He became a student of Neo-Platonism, and he adopted many of its most characteristic ideas. He held that man is in miniature a reproduction of the whole of nature, and that when we would know man we can do so by the study of nature in its several parts and relations. Along with teachings of this kind he went to the Kabbalah, and drew from it that which was satisfactory to his manner of thinking. He did not emancipate himself from belief in alchemy and astrology, or rather these became in his hands the means of chemical and physical study. Mackay classes him among the alchemists, as others have done; but his interest in alchemy lay in the direction of what has since grown into the science of chemistry and the use of chemicals in the curing of disease. The reputation which Paracelsus gained as a magician and alchemist clung to him, and has until our own day kept the world from a just recognition of his real

merits in laying the foundations of modern medicine and chemistry.

About 1512 Paracelsus set out on his scientific travels, his purpose being his own education, and the gaining of whatever knowledge was to be found anywhere. He went through Germany, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and probably some parts of Asia. He is said to have gone through Prussia, Austria, Turkey, Egypt, Tartary, and back again to Constantinople, where he is said to have spent some time. He is even reported to have been a captive in Tartary, and to have learned valuable medical secrets there; and it is stated that he settled in Constantinople for some years as a physician. Waite says that in Muscovy he was brought before the great Cham. "His knowledge of medicine and chemistry made him a favorite at the court of this potentate, who sent him in company with his son on an embassy to Constantinople. It was here, according to Helmont, that he was taught the supreme secret of alchemistry by a generous Arabian, who gave him the universal dissolvent, the Azoth of Western adepts, the alcohect or sophic fire."

Very little is really known about the travels of Paracelsus, and it is by no means certain that he was ever in the East. The supposition of Hartmann, that he must have acquired some of his teachings by contact with Indian or other Asiatic believers in occultism, has little to support it; and Neo-Platonism could have given him everything of this kind which he expressed in his books. Hartmann's account of his method of acquiring knowledge is much more to the point: "Paracelsus traveled through the countries along the Danube, and came into Italy, where he served as an army surgeon in the imperial army, and participated in many of the warlike expeditions of these times. On these occasions he collected a great deal of useful information, not only from physicians, surgeons, and alchemists, but also by his personal intercourse with executioners, barbers, shepherds, Jews, gypsies, midwives, and fortune-tellers. He collected useful information from the high and low, from the learned and from the vulgar, and it was nothing unusual to see him in the company of teamsters and vagabonds, on the highways and at public inns — a circumstance

on account of which his narrow-minded enemies heaped upon him bitter reproach and vilifications."

Having spent something more than ten years on his travels, Paracelsus returned home, and began his career as a physician and teacher. In 1526 or 1527 Paracelsus returned to Basle, and was almost at once made the town physician. He performed some remarkable cures, which brought him into notice as possessed of great knowledge and remarkable skill. One of the cures he wrought was that of Froben, who was cured by him of gout by the means of laudanum. Froben was one of the earliest of the great printers, a man of learning and skill, the intimate friend of Erasmus, and the publisher of his many works, and of the editions of the classic and Christian writers which he edited. On the recommendation of Œcolampadius, and other leaders among the Protestant reformers, Paracelsus was soon appointed by the city council of Basle to the post of professor of physic, medicine, and surgery in the university, and with a considerable salary.

Learned as Paracelsus undoubtedly was, and skillful as he must have been, he seems not to have had the discretion and sound judgment which are a better part of all wisdom. That he was a man of much originality we may admit, and that he had the boldness of the true reformer: but he was wanting in tact, and in capacity for wisely guiding other men. Very soon after he was established in Basle he came into collision with the city authorities and with the people. He asked the town council to make the apothecaries subject to him as the city physician, and that they should not be allowed to sell any medicines except at his order. This was probably a just request from the point of view of a wise physician; but the apothecaries would not submit to the control of Paracelsus, and they excited the people against the reformer. This action was construed as a direct attack upon the business of all the druggists and apothecaries in the city; and it excited the jealousy of the other physicians, who likewise turned against the innovator.

As a professor and lecturer in the university Paracelsus carried his spirit of innovation still farther than he had done as the city physician. From the very first the method of Paracelsus was boldly original, not to say egotistical. He

did what had not before been undertaken in connection with university teaching, — he discarded Latin in his lectures, and spoke in the vernacular, which was Swiss-German. Then he did not reproduce the teachings of the books, did not go to Galen, Celsus, or any of the masters of the past; but he drew from his own observations, and presented theories and methods of his own. This was doing in medicine what Erasmus had done as a scholar and what Luther had done as a religious teacher. In Paracelsus, however, there was not the gravity and solidity which marked the careers of Luther and Erasmus; and he laid himself open to the charge of being a charlatan. In his lectures he denounced the teachings of Galen and Avicenna, then the great masters of medical science, and he burned their works before his pupils in a dramatic manner. He said that the physicians educated in the old way were quacks and impostors, and that in his own shoe-strings was more knowledge than in the men whose writings had been the standards of medicine for centuries. He proposed to cut wholly loose from the old medical system, and to establish this science upon a basis of its own, which he was ready to supply.

Paracelsus seems to have had an egotism which was repellent to others, rather than an aid to his own success. He said in the preface to one of his books: "I know that the monarchy of mind will belong to me, that mine will be the honor. I do not praise myself, but Nature praises me, for I am born of Nature, and follow her. She knows me and I know her." In another preface he wrote in the manner of his lectures at Basle: "After me, ye, Avicenna, Galen, Rhases, Montagnana, and others! You after me, not I after you, ye of Paris, Montpellier, Suevia, Meissen, and Cologne, ye of Vienna, and all that come from the countries along the Danube and Rhine and from the islands of the ocean! You Italy, you Dalmatia, you Sarmatia, Athens, Greece, Arabia, and Israelita! Follow me! It is not for me to follow you, because mine is the monarchy. Come out of the night of the mind! The time will come when none of you shall remain in this dark corner who will not be an object of contempt to the world, because I shall be the monarch, and the monarchy will be mine." He made the same boasts in his lectures, so confident was he of his own position, and of the superiority of his methods.

The immediate cause of the departure of Paracelsus from Basle was the failure of the city council to sustain him in his rights as a physician. A certain Canon Cornelius of Lichtenfels became very ill and lay at the point of death with the gout. He called Paracelsus to his aid, who gave him two small pills, which caused his speedy recovery. When the canon was awaiting death he promised Paracelsus a large remuneration; but when he returned to health so easily he refused to pay what at first he had promised. Paracelsus brought suit against him, but failed to recover his fee. A complication of causes, however, led to the failure of Paracelsus in Basle; this was only the last straw. Of these causes Professor Ferguson gives a clear statement: —

"The truth of Paracelsus's doctrines was apparently confirmed by his success in curing or mitigating diseases for which the regular physicians could do nothing. For about a couple of years his reputation and practice increased to a surprising extent. But at the end of that time people began to recover themselves. Paracelsus had burst upon the schools with such novel views and methods, with such irresistible criticism, that all opposition was at first crushed flat. Gradually the sea began to rise. His enemies watched for slips and failures; the physicians maintained that he had no degree, and insisted that he should give proof of his qualifications. His manner of life was brought up against him. It was insinuated that he was a profane person, that he was a conjurer, a necromancer, that, in fact, he was to be got rid of at any cost as a troubler of the peace and of the time-honored traditions of the medical corporations. Moreover, he had a pharmaceutical system of his own which did not harmonize with the commercial arrangements of the apothecaries, and he not only did not use their drugs like the Galenists, but in the exercise of his functions as town physician urged the authorities to keep a sharp eye on the purity of their wares, upon their knowledge of their art, and upon their transactions with their friends the physicians. The growing jealousy and enmity culminated in the Lichtenfels dispute; and as the judges sided with the canon, to their everlasting discredit, Paracelsus had no alternative but to tell them his opinion of the whole case and of their notions of justice. So little doubt left he on the subject that his friends judged

it prudent for him to leave Basle at once, as it had been resolved to punish him for the attack on the authorities of which he had been guilty. He departed from Basle in such haste that he carried nothing with him, and some chemical apparatus and other property were taken charge of by Oporinus, his pupil and amanuensis. He went first to Esslingen, where he remained for a brief period, but had soon to leave from absolute want. Then began his wandering life, the course of which can be traced by the dates of his various writings. He thus visited in succession Colmar, Nuremberg, Appenzell, Zurich, Pfäffers, Augsburg, Villach, Meran, Middelheim, and other places, seldom staying a twelvemonth in any of them. In this way he spent some dozen years, till 1541, when he was invited by Archbishop Ernst to settle at Salzburg, under his protection."

Paracelsus was evidently a man of fervid and erratic character, full of great purposes, which he had not the stability and persistence to realize. He had genius, was an original investigator and thinker, but he was visionary, and wanting in sound judgment. He was brave and fearless, but also wrong-headed and vulgar. The inconsistent elements in his character are well described by Professor Ferguson: "It is not difficult to criticise Paracelsus and to represent him as so far below the level of his time as to be utterly contemptible. It is difficult, but perhaps not impossible, to raise Paracelsus to a place among the great spirits of mankind. It is most difficult of all to ascertain what his true character really was, to appreciate aright this man of fervid imagination, of powerful and persistent convictions, of unabated honesty and love of truth, of keen insight into the errors (as he thought them) of his time, of a merciless will to lay bare these errors and to reform the abuses to which they gave rise, who in an instant offends us by his boasting, his grossness, his want of self-respect. It is a problem how to reconcile his ignorance, his weakness, his superstition, his crude notions, his erroneous observations, his ridiculous inferences and theories, with his grasp of method, his lofty views of the true scope of medicine, his lucid statements, his incisive and epigrammatic criticisms of men and motives."

His personal appearance and his portraits have been

described by Hartmann: "Whether or not Paracelsus was emasculated in his infancy, in consequence of an accident, or by a drunken soldier, as an old tradition says, or whether he was or was not emasculated at all, has not been ascertained. It is, however, certain that no beard grew on his face, and that his skull, which is still in existence, approximates the formation of a female rather than that of a male. He is painted nowhere with a beard. His portrait, in life-size, can still be seen at Salzburg, painted on the wall of his residence. Other portraits of Paracelsus are to be found in Huser's edition of his works, and in the first volume of Hauber's *Bibliotheca Magica*. The head of Paracelsus, painted by Kaulbach in his celebrated picture, at the Museum at Berlin, called *The Age of the Reformation*, is idealized, and bears little resemblance to the original."

Among the charges brought against Paracelsus in his lifetime, and which have been repeated since his death, was that of being a drunkard. It is said he often appeared on the streets in a drunken condition, and that he was so frequently intoxicated that he was unfitted for his duties as a physician and lecturer. He was also charged with being a magician, and with dealing with familiar spirits. It is said he sought for the philosopher's stone, and that he tried to produce gold by magical processes. He had the reputation of holding communion with Galen in hell, and of being able to bring Avicenna from the infernal regions to aid him in his magical efforts. It is needless to say that these reports have no foundation in truth, — that they grew out of misrepresentations and misconceptions of his medical labors. Even so late a writer as Mackay, in his *Popular Delusions*, repeats these worthless stories.

Hartmann describes the last years of Paracelsus somewhat more in detail than has been done by Professor Ferguson, and with some differences of statement: "Paracelsus resumed his strolling life, roaming, as he did in his youth, over the country, living in village taverns and inns, and traveling from place to place. Numerous disciples followed him, attracted either by a desire for knowledge or by a wish to acquire his art and to use it for their own purposes. The most renowned of his followers was Johannes Oporinus, who for three years served as a secretary and famulus to

him, and who afterwards became a professor of the Greek language, and a well-known publisher, bookseller, and printer in Basle. Paracelsus was exceedingly reticent in regard to his secrets, and Oporinus afterwards spoke very bitterly against him on that account, and thereby served his enemies. But after the death of Paracelsus he regretted his own indiscretion, and expressed great veneration for him.

"Paracelsus went to Colmar in 1528, and came to Esslingen and Nuremberg in the years 1529 and 1530. The regular physicians of Nuremberg denounced him as a quack, charlatan, and impostor. To refute their accusations he requested the City Council to put some patients that had been declared incurable under his care. They sent him some cases of elephantiasis, which he cured in a short time, and without asking any fee. Testimonials to that effect may be found in the archives of the city of Nuremberg.

"But this success did not change the fortune of Paracelsus, who seemed to be doomed to a life of continual wanderings. In 1530 we find him at Noerdlingen, Munich, Regensburg, Amberg, and Meran; in 1531 in St. Gall, and in 1535 at Zurich. He then went to Maehren, Kaernthen, Krain, and Hongary, and finally landed in Salzburg, to which place he was invited by the Prince Palatine, Duke Ernst of Bavaria, who was a great lover of the secret arts. In that place Paracelsus obtained at last the fruit of his long labors and of a widespread fame.

"But he was not destined to enjoy a long time the rest he so richly deserved, because on the 24th of September, 1541, he died, after a short sickness (at the age of forty-eight years and three days), in a small room of the inn to the 'White Horse,' near the quay, and his body was buried in the graveyard of St. Sebastian. There is still a mystery in regard to his death, but the most recent investigations go to confirm the statement made by his contemporaries, that Paracelsus during a banquet had been treacherously attacked by the hirelings of certain physicians who were his enemies, and that in consequence of a fall upon a rock, a fracture was produced on his skull, that after a few days caused his death."

Paracelsus was a prolific writer, for he published fourteen

works during his life-time, and many others came out after his death. Many writings were attributed to him which were not of his production, and it is now difficult to determine which are genuine. He wrote in Swiss-German, and seems to have had no knowledge of Greek, and not a very extended one of Latin. His works were edited in 1589–91 by Huser in eleven volumes; and, though other editions have been published, this is the best. They were translated into Latin by his disciples, and published in a complete edition. About a dozen of his writings were translated into English during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Paracelsus was the first of the new race of alchemists, who arose in the sixteenth century, who abandoned the search for the philosopher's stone, and who sought for chemical remedies for disease. He said that the true use of chemistry is not to make gold, but to prepare medicines. Though he was very far from being wholly emancipated from the spirit or the fact of alchemy, yet he made many remarkable discoveries in the direction of modern science, and he anticipated in part so many modern facts and laws that he can be regarded as no other than a genius, because of his wonderful insight.

Paracelsus rejected all traditional and authoritative teachings in medicine, and was noted for his revolutionary independence of thought. He broke away from the humanists, and sought to make medicine popular by discarding the use of Latin. He rejected the study of anatomy, and sought the source of disease in part in the spiritual nature of man. His Neo-Platonism made him regard man not only as a microcosm, but as having the source of all his bodily qualities in the soul. He sought for remedies that would act upon the spiritual nature of disease; and these he found in chemicals, many of which he introduced as medicines, especially antimony. He also made a large use of laudanum, which he was the first to employ as a medicine. He originated the chemical system of medicine, which was greatly influential during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

He made much of the doctrine of signatures, or the correspondence of the microcosm with the macrocosm. This led him to his theory of specifics, and to his arcana of med-

icines. His positive services to medicine, says Professor Ferguson, are to be summed up in his wide application of chemical ideas to pharmacy and therapeutics; his indirect and possibly greater services are to be found in the stimulus, the revolutionary stimulus, of his ideas about method and general theory. Paracelsus was also a reformer in surgical practice, as well as in medicine. His merit here was his observation of nature, and his faithfulness in the description of diseases and injuries. His surgical writings were of great value in their time.

It was not alone in medicine and chemistry that the influence of Paracelsus was felt, for his name appears in the history of philosophy as that of one of the men through whose theories the modern conceptions of the universe have been built up. Erdmann says that he was the first to make the doctrine of the microcosm and macrocosm the central point of the whole of philosophy. With him nature-philosophy began, which reached its highest expression in Schelling, and which has had so important an influence on modern science. Brilliant were some of his ideas, and fruitful in results for modern thought; but he was also the victim of fancy and fanaticism. He was a theosophist, and held to many theories which have recently re-appeared under the name of "Esoteric Buddhism." Very nearly all which has of late years been taught as "Christian Science" is to be found in his writings. Modern "Theosophy" adds nothing to what he taught, and has less excuse for its existence. He had not learned to separate these speculations from those of legitimate science; and in his writings they are almost inextricably mixed with each other, the true scientific method being employed to maintain the wildest theosophic or cabalistic speculations. This strange mixture of good and evil in his teachings is well described by Erdmann, who is writing of his theory of the arcana. "Here, as in general with Paracelsus, it is hard to tell where self-deception ceases and charlatanry begins. He cannot be acquitted of either; on the contrary, neither here nor in the case of the famous recipe for the production of the homunculus, is it possible to think of an ironical jest. That in all his alchemistic works he demands that the stars and their constellations should be observed, that the sun's crop and fal-

low season, *i. e.*, summer and winter, should be distinguished, is a necessary consequence of the interdependence of all things which he asserts. Amid all the assertions which appear so fantastic he is never tired of warning his readers against fantasies, and of demanding that Nature herself should be allowed to point out the way. But he not only regards it as such guidance, that an accidental *experimentum* teaches how an herb has once operated, but also when Nature promises a certain definite effect by means of the form of a plant taken as a *signature;* and finally, when from the fact that a beast can feed on, *i. e.*, draw to itself, that which is poison to us, we draw the inference that this poison will draw away, *i. e.*, to itself, our wounds, we follow not our own conceit, but Nature. He is entirely in earnest that our knowledge is only the self-revelation of Nature, that our knowledge is but listening to her; and that he heard a great deal from her is proved by his fortunate cures, and by the fact that many of his fundamental principles have maintained themselves to this day."

In his article on Alchemy M. Jules Andrieu speaks of those who condemn Paracelsus because of his imperfect and spiritualistic teachings as not judging him truly: "A far truer estimate of Paracelsus has been given us by Mr. Browning in the drama which bears his name." To the same effect is the Cambridge lecture of Charles Kingsley, published in his *Historical Lectures and Essays*, where he says: "Paracelsus . . . has been immortalized in a poem which you all ought to read, one of Robert Browning's earliest and one of his best creations. I think we must accept as true Mr. Browning's interpretation of Paracelsus's character. We must believe that he was at first an honest and high-minded, as he was certainly a most gifted man; that he went forth into the world, with an intense sense of the worthlessness of the sham knowledge of the pedants and quacks of the schools; an intense belief that some higher and truer science might be discovered by which diseases might be actually cured, and health, long life, happiness, all but immortality, be conferred on man; an intense belief that he, Paracelsus, was called and chosen of God to find out that great mystery, and be a benefactor to all future ages. . . . He had one idea, to which if he had kept

true, his life would have been a happier one — the firm belief that all pure science was a revelation from God; that it was not to be obtained at second or third hand, by blindly adhering to the works of Galen or Hippocrates or Aristotle, and putting them (as the scholastic philosophers round him did) in the place of God; but by going straight to Nature at first hand, and listening to what Bacon calls 'the voice of God revealed in facts.'"

Browning has interpreted Paracelsus as a believer in intuition as a source of truth, and this he undoubtedly was. He expected to arrive at the secrets of nature by direct apprehension or by intuition. He thought that the soul could see directly into nature, and read its truths by the interior vision of the soul. Instead of keeping strictly to the methods of the physical student, he sought to arrive at truth by intellectual intuition or by the special activity of the interior nature. In his *De Natura Rerum* he said: "Hidden things of the soul which cannot be perceived by the physical senses may be found through the sidereal body, through whose organism we may look into nature in the same way as the sun shines through a glass. The inner nature of everything may therefore be known through Magic in general, and through the powers of the inner or second sight. These are the powers by which all the secrets of nature may be discovered, and it is necessary that a physician should be instructed and become well versed in this art, and that he should be able to find out a great deal more about the patient's disease by his own inner perception than by questioning the patient. . . . That which gives healing power to a medicine is its *Spiritus* (its ethereal essence or principle), and it is only perceptible by the senses of the sidereal man. It therefore follows that Magic is a teacher of medicine far preferable to all written books. Magic power alone (that can neither be conferred by the universities nor created by the awarding of diplomas, but which comes from God) is the true teacher, preceptor, and pedagogue, to teach the art of curing the sick. As the physical forms and colors of objects or as the letters of a book can be seen with the physical eye, likewise the essence and character of all things may be recognized and become known by the inner sense of the soul."

Paracelsus gives quite another meaning to magic than that which is now given to it, for he says: "Magic and Sorcery are two entirely different things, and there is as much difference between them as there is between light and darkness, and between white and black. Magic is the greatest wisdom and the knowledge of supernatural powers. A knowledge of spiritual things cannot be obtained by merely reasoning logically from external appearances existing on the physical plane, but it may be acquired by obtaining more spirituality, and making one's self capable of seeing and feeling the things of the spirit." Again, he says: "The exercise of true magic does not require any ceremonies or conjurations, or the making of circles or signs; it requires neither benedictions nor maledictions in words, neither verbal blessings nor curses; it only requires a strong faith in the omnipotent power of all good, that can accomplish everything if it acts through a human mind who is in harmony with it, and without which nothing useful can be accomplished. True magic power consists in true faith, but true faith rests in knowledge, and without knowledge there can be no faith."

"Another great spiritual power," he says, "is contained in faith. Faith stimulates and elevates the power of the spirit. A person who has strong faith feels as if he were lifted up, and were living independent of the body. By the power of faith the Apostles and Patriarchs accomplished great things, that were above the ordinary run of nature; and the saints performed their miracles by the power of faith. . . . A dead saint cannot cure anybody. A living saint may cure the sick by virtue of the divine power that acts through him." "Faith accomplishes that which the body would accomplish if it had the power. Man is created with great powers; he is greater than heaven and greater than the earth. He possesses faith, and faith is a light more powerful than and superior to natural light, and stronger than all creatures. All magic processes are based on faith. By faith, imagination, and will we may accomplish whatever we may desire. The power of faith overcomes all spirits of nature, because it is a spiritual power, and spirit is higher than nature. Whatever is grown in the realm of nature may be changed by the power of faith." "If any one

thinks that he can cure a disease or accomplish anything else, because he believes that he is able to accomplish it, he believes in a superstition; but if he knows that he can perform such a thing, because he is conscious of having the power to do so, he will then be able to accomplish it by the power of that consciousness, which is the true faith. Such a faith is knowledge and gives power. True faith is spiritual consciousness, but a belief based upon mere opinions and creeds is the product of ignorance and is superstitious."

In his account of the relations of the animal and the spiritual nature Paracelsus presents ideas which have been adopted by Browning, not only in the present poem, but in many others. "Man," says Paracelsus, "need not be surprised that animals have animal instincts that are so much like his own; it might rather be surprising for the animals to see that their son resembles them so much. Animals follow their animal instincts, and in doing so they act as nobly and stand as high in nature as their position in it permits them, and they do not sink thereby below that position; it is only animal man who may sink below the brute. . . . Man may learn from the animals, for they are his parents; but the animals can learn nothing useful to them from man. . . . A man who loves to lead an animal life is an animal ruled by his interior animal heaven. The same heavenly influences that cause a wolf to murder, a dog to steal, a cat to kill, a bird to sing, make a man a singer, an eater, a talker, a lover, a murderer, a robber, or a thief. These are animal attributes, and they die with the animal elements to which they belong; but the divine principle in man, which constitutes him a human being, and by which he is eminently distinguished from the animals, is not a product of the earth, nor is it generated by the animal kingdom, but it comes from God; it is God, and it is immortal, because, coming from a divine source, it cannot be otherwise than divine. Man should therefore live in harmony with his divine parent, and not in the animal elements of his soul. Man has an Eternal Father who sent him to reside and gain experience in the animal principles, but not for the purpose of being absorbed by them."

One of the best sources of information about Paracelsus is the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, especially with reference

to his historic importance and his contributions to chemistry and medicine. See articles on Paracelsus, alchemy, chemistry, medicine, surgery, pathology, and mysticism. Erdmann's *History of Philosophy* gives the best account in English of his philosophical position. The fullest source of information is Hartmann's *Life of Paracelsus*, which translates many passages from his writings; but this work has little critical insight or soundness of judgment. The author takes the good and the bad of Paracelsus with equal readiness, and defends his magic and his occultism with an astonishing credulity. The lecture of Kingsley, already mentioned, may be consulted with profit. The contribution of Dr. Berdoe on *Paracelsus* to *The Browning Society's Papers*, part eleven, reprinted in his *Browning's Message to His Time*, will be found of value. Mrs. Fanny Holy, St. Louis, Mo., has published a very helpful *Outline Study of Browning's Paracelsus:* for sale by Charles H. Kerr, Chicago. This is the fullest and most satisfactory study of the poem yet published. Not least important are Browning's own notes to the poem, which contain much valuable matter.

For interpretations see Alexander, and Sharp. Also see *New Monthly Magazine*, John Forster, 46 : 289 ; *The Examiner*, John Forster, Sept. 6, 1835 ; *Monthly Repository*, W. J. Fox, 9 : 716 ; *Leigh Hunt's Journal*, 2 : 405 ; *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 101* ; *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 117 ; Kingsland's *Chief Poet of the Age*.

Many emendations have been made in *Paracelsus* in the form of omissions, additions, and revisions. Nearly a third of the lines have been changed since the poem was first printed. The first and last editions have been carefully collated with each other, and the result is given below. In the first book every change has been noted, except those of the slightest character, such as the substitution of one conjunction or preposition for another, like *and* for *but*. In the other books only the emendations of considerable importance have been indicated. A few omissions of foot-notes may also be mentioned. Riverside edition, p. 105, l. 46, had this foot-note: "He did in effect affirm that he had disputed with Galen in the vestibule of hell." P. 116, l. 25, had this: "'Paracelse faisait profession du Panthéisme le plus grossier.' — *Renauldin.*"

CHANGED READINGS, ADDITIONS, AND OMISSIONS.

I. Paracelsus Aspires.

1835.	1888.
p. 1. Scene. Würzburg. — A garden in the environs. 1507.	p. 27. Scene, Würzburg; a garden in the environs. 1512.
p. 3, l. 1. Those creaking trees bent with their fruit — and see	p. 28, l. 9. Nor blame those creaking trees bent with their fruit,
l. 4. And for the winds —	l. 12. Then for the winds —
l. 5. Shall vex that ash that overlooks the rest,	l. 13. Shall vex that ash which overlooks you both,
l. 12. All families	l. 20. Each family
l. 18. The painted snail	l. 26. Yon painted snail
p. 4, l. 2. For where beside this nook	l. 32. For where save in this nook
l. 8. predict some great	l. 38. predict to me
l. 18. and all that they contain	p. 29, l. 3. and all things they contain
l. 21. best love so well shut in	l. 6. love best, shut in so well
p. 5, l. 2. That, far from them,	l. 8. That, when afar,
l. 8. Even to frame a wish	l. 14. And fashion even a wish
l. 11. well they are.	l. 17. well they fare.
l. 12. This Festus knows; beside,	l. 18. Beside, this Festus knows
l. 14. joys he quits;	l. 20. joys I quit,
l. 18. That 's beautiful is one! And when he learns That every common sight he can enjoy	l. 24. That 's beauteous proves alike! When Festus learns That every common pleasure of the world
l. 21. joys derived	l. 27. joy derived
p. 6, l. 1. and which a rash pursuit of aims That it affords not	l. 28. a stake which rash pursuit of aims That life affords not,
l. 3. knowing this	l. 30. this in view
l. 19. Will be between us . . .	p. 30, l. 2. Will rise between us: —
p. 7, l. 9. Oh, you shall Be very proud one day! . . .	l. 13. Oh, one day You shall be very proud!
l. 11. Talk volumes, I shall still be in arrear.	[after l. 14.]
l. 13. for vain it looks to seek	l. 16. for vain all projects seem
l. 14. the last hopes I conceived Are fading even now. Old stories tell	l. 17. I said my latest hope Is fading even now. A story tells
l. 18. The gifts it proffer'd were	l. 21. The gifts they offered proved
p. 8, l. 1. and still desist No whit from projects where they have no part.	l. 25. and yet desist No whit from projects where repose nor love Have part.
l. 3. Alas! as I forbode, this weighty talk Has for its end no other than to revive . . .	l. 27. Once more? Alas! As I foretold.
l. 11. And still I listen	l. 34. You bid me listen
l. 14. a mother should hope	l. 37. a mother hoped
l. 19. and striven their strife — Eluding Destiny, if that might be —	l. 42. and died their death, Lost in their ranks, eluding destiny:
p. 9, l. 1. And taught me to know them and know myself;	p. 31, l. 1. Taught me to know mankind and know myself;
l. 3. That I can from my soul	l. 3. That, from my soul, I can
l. 8. When you shall Have learn'd my purpose . . . Learn'd it? I can say Beforehand all this conference will produce.	l. 8. When you deign To hear my purpose . . . Hear it? I can say Beforehand all this evening's conference!
l. 13. Of our belief in what is man's true end	l. 13. Of our best scheme of life, what is man's end,

And God's apparent will — no two faiths ever
Agreed as ours agree: next, each allows
These points are no mere visionary truths:
But, once determin'd, it remains alone
To act upon them straight as best we may:

p. 10, l. 2. authorize —
A broad plan, vague and ill defined enough,
But courting censure and imploring aid:
Well —
l. 9. Our minds go every way together — all good
l. 18. wholly to God
Is in a life
p. 11, l. 6. that he should send
l. 7. or find out
How else they may be satiated: but this
Ambiguous warfare wearies . . .
. . . Not so much
l. 11. And for his own sake, not for yours?
l. 16. Choose your party:
p. 12, l. 1. nor spy out
l. 5. that all you covet
l. 7. That the strange course
l. 9. And count the minutes
l. 21. heart has long
Nourish'd, and has at length matured, a plan
To give yourself up wholly to one end.
I will not speak of Einsiedeln; 't was as
I had been born
p. 13, l. 8. As you had your own soul: accordingly
I could go further back, and trace each bough
Of this wide-branching tree even to its birth;
Each full-grown passion to its outspring faint;
But I shall only dwell upon the intents
Which fill'd you when,
l. 16. Whom famed Trithemius
l. 17. and not the dullest
l. 19. Was earnest as you were;
l. 22. Now, just as well have I descried the growth
Of this new ardor which supplants the old:
I watch'd it —
p. 14, l. 15. Secured
p. 15, l. 1. But after-signs disclosed, and you confirm'd,

And what God's will; no two faiths e'er agreed
As his with mine. Next, each of us allows
Faith should be acted on as best we may:

l. 19. authorize.
l. 20. Well,
l. 24. Our two minds go together — all the good
l. 37. to God, is seen
In living just
l. 46. that God should send
l. 47. say how soon
Power satiates these, or lust, or gold; I know
The world's cry well, and how to answer it.
But this ambiguous warfare . . .
. . . Wearies so
p. 32. l. 5. To urge it? — for his sake, not yours?
l. 10. Choose your side,
l. 13. nor espy
l. 17. prove, all you covet
l. 19. Prove the strange course
l. 21. Nay, count the minutes
l. 33. long since
Gave birth to, nourished and at length matures
This scheme. I will not speak of Einsiedelen,
Where I was born
l. 40. As you had your own soul and those intents
Which filled it when,
l. 44. Whom, here, Trithemius
p. 33, l. 1. and not one youth,
l. 3. Came earnest as you came,
[after l. 5.]
l. 6. Now, this new ardor which supplants the old
l. 7. I watched, too;
l. 20. Maintained
l. 28. For after-signs disclosed, what you confirmed,

l. 10. That you, not nursing as a lovely dream
This purpose, with the sages of old Time,
l. 21. Devotion shall sustain or shall undo you:
This you intend.
p. 16, l. 5. Who summons me to be his organ: he
Whose innate strength supports him
l. 13. And that such praise seems best attain'd when he
l. 15. Yet, *that*, the *instrument*, is not the *end*.
There is a curse upon the earth; let man
Presume not to serve God
p. 17, l. 2. Though I doubt much if he consent that we
Discover this great secret I know well
You will allege no other comprehends
The work in question save its laborer:
I shall assume the aim improved; and you
That I am implicated in the issue
Not simply as your friend, but as yourself —
As though it were my task that you perform,
And some plague dogg'd my heels till it were done.
Suppose this own'd then; you are born to KNOW.
(You will heed well your answers, for my faith
Shall meet implicitly what they affirm) —
I cannot think you have annex'd to such
l. 16. An intense purpose — gifts that would induce
l. 18. And instruments of success: no destiny
Dispenses with endeavor.
l. 22. than a full assurance
That it exists;
p. 18, l. 5. For its possessor.
l. 16. Where error is not, but success is sure.
p. 19, l. 12. Thus for the faith
l. 14. These pedants strive to learn — the magic they
So reverence. I shall scarcely seek to know
If it exist:
l. 20. God every where, sustaining and directing,
l. 22. And every object shall be charged to strike,
To teach, to gratify, and to suggest?

l. 37. — That you, not nursing as a mere vague dream
This purpose, with the sages of the past,
p. 34, l. 2. Devotion to sustain you or betray:
Thus you aspire.
l. 9. Who summons me to be his organ. All
Whose innate strength supports them
l. 17. And hold such praise is best attained when man
l. 19. Yet this, the end, is not the instrument.

l. 20. Presume not to serve God
[after l. 24.]

l. 25. Suppose this, then; that God selected you
To KNOW (heed well your answers, for my faith
Shall meet implicitly what they affirm),
I cannot think you dare annex to such
l. 30. An intense hope; nor let your gifts create
l. 32. Conducive to success, make destiny
Dispense with man's endeavor.
l. 36. than security
Of its existence?
l. 41. For its pursuer.
p. 35, l. 8. Without success forever in its eyes!
l. 25. This for the faith
l. 27. These pedants strive to learn and teach; Black Arts,
Great Works, the Secret and Sublime, forsooth —
Let others prize:
l. 33. God helping, God directing everywhere,
l. 35. And every object there be charged to strike,
Teach, gratify her master, God appoints?

l. 2. And I am young, Festus.
l. 4. I, who am singled out for this.
l. 6. the populous north,
l. 17. I renounce
All hope of learning further on this head;
And what I next advance holds good as well
With one assured that all these things are true;
For might not such seek out a fast retreat—
l. 22. there to have
p. 21, l. 3. To lift himself
l. 4. To fill out full their unfulfill'd careers,
l. 6. Pronounced inextricable, but surely left
l. 9. and untried force—
l. 11. From runner still? Such one might well do this.
But you have link'd to this, your enterprize,
An arbitrary and most perplexing scheme
[after l. 14.]

l. 15. Rejecting past example, practise, precept—
That so you may stand aidless and alone:
If in this wild rejection you regard
Mankind and their award of fame —'t is clear,

l. 37. And I am young, my Festus,
l. 39. I, singled out for this, the One!
l. 41. the hopeful North,
p. 36, l. 6. Call this, truth—
Why not pursue it in a fast retreat,
Some one of Learning's many palaces,

l. 9. seeking there
l. 12. —So lift yourself
l. 23. And fill out full their unfulfilled careers,
l. 15. Pronounced inextricable, true!—but left
l. 18. new-hearted force,
l. 20. From runner still: this way success might be.
But you have coupled with your enterprise
An arbitrary self-repugnant scheme
l. 24. What books are in the desert? Writes the sea
The secret of her yearning in vast caves
Where yours will fall the first of human feet?
Has wisdom sat there and recorded aught
You press to read? Why turn aside from her
To visit, where her vesture never glanced,
Now — solitudes consigned to barrenness
By God's decree, which who shall dare impugn?
Now — ruins where she paused but would not stay,
Old ravaged cities that, renouncing her,
She called an endless curse on, so it came:
Or worst of all, now — men you visit, men,
Ignoblest troops who never heard her voice
Or hate it, men without one gift from Rome
Or Athens — these shall Aureole's teachers be!
Rejecting past example, practice, precept,
Aidless 'mid these he thinks to stand alone:
Thick like a glory round the Stagirite
Your rivals throng, the sages: here stand you!

l. 22. Friend, foe, assistant, rival,
p. 22, l. 14. until
p. 23, l. 3. its hills, and lakes, and plains
l. 6. The ever-moving,
l. 9. Consign'd to me within its ranks — while yet
l. 17. what seem'd a longing
To trample on yet save mankind at once —
p. 24, l. 4. with them so much
l. 21. I would but analyse
p. 25, l. 18. well content,
And stagger'd only at his own strong wits;
p. 26, l. 7. Know better: hast thou gazed
Presumptuous
[after l. 9.]

l. 10. Pursue as well the toil their earnest blinking,
Whom radiance ne'er distracts, so dear descries?
p. 27, l. 4. With our own mind; and how such show'd beside
l. 9. With weakness —
l. 10. Have ripen'd inborn sins to strength: wilt thou
Adventure for my sake and for thy kind's,
Apart from all reward?
p. 28, l. 5. Demanding life to be explored alone —
l. 14. Just thus you answer ever
l. 17. Of many a mighty spirit
l. 18. for aught I know;
l. 22. They labour'd after their own fashion; the fruits
p. 29, l. 3. With evils their best lore cannot abate.
l. 18. I well nigh dream
I too have spent a life the self-same way —
Tread once again an old life's course.
p. 30, l. 1. An age ago;
l. 3. Imbued with better light let in by Death —
So free from all past sin — that it was heard . . .
l. 6. But scatter'd wrecks enough remain to wake
l. 8. all which is foolish
Indeed, and only means — the form I bear,
The earth I tread, are not more clear to me.

p. 31, l. 4. I know
l. 10. you shall
Go forth
l. 14. Some one to trust your glory to; to share

l. 46. Rival, assistant, friend, foe,
p. 37, l. 14. till dawned
l. 24. its mountains, lakes and woods

l. 27. The everlasting
l. 30. Consigned me in its ranks — while, just awake,
l. 39. I seemed to long
At once to trample on yet save mankind,
p. 38, l. 2. with men so much
l. 19. these words but analyze
l. 37. strong,
Or staggered only at his own vast wits;
p. 39, l. 3. Consider: hast thou gazed
Presumptuously

l. 6. Unguided by the brain the sight absorbs,
l. 3. Pursue their task as earnest blinkers do
Whom radiance ne'er distracted? Live their life
l. 25. With the human mind; I understand, no less.
l. 30. With frailty —
l. 31. Have ripened inborn germs of sin to strength:
Wilt thou adventure for my sake and man's,
Apart from all reward?
l. 46. Asking a life to pass exploring thus,
p. 40, l. 9. Just thus you help me ever.
l. 12. Of many a mighty marcher
l. 13. than theirs, perhaps,
l. 17. They labored and grew famous, and the fruits
l. 20. With evils, what of all their lore abates?
l. 35. I almost dream
I too have spent a life the sages' way,
And tread once more familiar paths.
l. 39. Ages ago;
l. 41. Instinct with better light let in by death,

l. 43. But scattered wrecks enough of it remain,
l. 46. All which, indeed,
p. 41, l. 1. Is foolish, and only means — the flesh I wear,
The earth I tread, are not more clear to me
Than my belief, explained to you or no.
l. 18. It seems
l. 24. alone
You shall go forth
l. 28. Some one to cast your glory on, to share

Your rapture with. Had I been chosen like you
I should encircle me with love — should raise
A rampart of kind wishes;
l. 20. the great boon,
p. 32, l. 1. If ease seduced or danger daunted me,
l. 10. Once more (since I am forced to speak as one
Who has full liberty at his discretion)
l. 20. And I regret it; there 's no sacrifice
To make; the sages threw so much away
While I must be content with gaining all.
p. 33, l. 6. although
No visible good flow thence, give up some part
Of your renown to another: so you shall
Hide from yourself that all is for yourself.
l. 12. And who but late
l. 14. Whom should I love but you?

p. 34, l. 1. faculties which have
l. 5. which they can never feel —
Passionless midst
l. 8. live wholly
On objects you so lightly prize, which make
Their heart's sole wealth: the soft affections seem
l. 14. though in another it were
l. 15. I dare not blame you:
l. 17. I judge you one
p. 35, l. 6. first fruits I should fear?
l. 8. How many years of hate
l. 11. Well to deserve that love
l. 14. I should have made all sure
For my departure that remains to do;
So answer not, while I run lightly o'er
The topics you have urged to-night. It seems
We acquiesce at last in all, save only
p. 36, l. 1. will offer joys
l. 5. precepts of old sages,
l. 6. But then
Truth is within ourselves;
l. 11. Wall within wall,
l. 12. Perfect and true perception —
l. 14. Which blinds it, and makes error: and, "*to know*"
Rather consists in opening out a way
Whence the imprison'd splendor may dart forth,
l. 20. And you shall trace
p. 37, l. 1. for hitherto,

Your rapture with. Were I elect like you
I would encircle me with love, and raise
A rampart of my fellows;
l. 34. the great gift,
l. 37. If danger daunted me or ease seduced,
[after l. 45.]

p. 42, l. 9. Would there were some real sacrifice to make!
Your friends the sages threw their joys away,
While I must be content with keeping mine.
l. 17. Give up
(Although no visible good flow thence) some part
Of the glory to another; hiding thus
Even from yourself, that all is for yourself.
l. 22. And who but lately
l. 24. Whom should I love but both of you?
l. 32. faculties which bear
l. 36. themselves can never feel,
Passionless 'mid
l. 39. can live
On objects you prize lightly, but which make
Their hearts sole treasure: the affections seem
p. 43, l. 1. though in another it scowls
l. 2. I dare not judge you.
l. 4. I own you one
l. 15. first fruits of my quest?
l. 17. How many years of pain
l. 20. To justify your love;
[after l. 22.]

l. 23. I was to go. It seems
You acquiesce at last in all save this —
l. 28. will yet retain
l. 32. precepts of old time,
l. 33. But, friends,
Truth is within ourselves;
l. 38. Wall upon wall,
l. 39. This perfect, clear perception —
l. 41. Binds it, and makes all error: and, to KNOW,
Rather consists in opening out a way
Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
p. 44, l. 2. And you trace back
l. 5. for hitherto, your sage

Even as we know not how those beams are born,
As little know we what unlocks their lair;
For men
l. 5. And died
l. 10. has oft brought forth
A truth
l. 12. invisible mist.
l. 15. The interposing bar which binds a soul?

l. 16. Some film removed the happy outlet whence
It issues proudly? seeing that the soul
Is deathless (we know well) but oftener coop'd
A prisoner and a thrall, than a throned power;
That it strives weakly in the child,
[after l. 22.]

p. 38, l. 1. That not alone
l. 3. Affects its current;
l. 11. Seeing all this why should I pine in vain
Attempts to win some day the august form
Of Truth to stand before me, and compel
My dark unvalued frame to change its nature,
And straight become suffused with light — at best
For my sole good — leaving the world to seek
Salvation out as it best may, or follow
The same long thorny course? No, I will learn
How to set free the soul alike in all,
By searching out the laws
p. 39, l. 3. But to put forth our strength,
l. 5. Gifted alike, and eagle-eyed,
l. 8. Mysterious knowledge
l. 9. long lost or ever-hidden;
l. 18. And beauteous fancies, hopes, and aspirations,
Were born only to wither in this life,
Refused to curb or moderate their longings,
Or fit them to this narrow sphere, but chose
To figure and conceive another world
p. 40, l. 6. Like theirs
l. 14. Yonder, is mingled and involv'd a mass
Of schistous particles of ore. And even

Even as he knows not how those beams are born,
As little knows he what unlocks their fount,
And men
To die
l. 14. gives birth at last
To truth —
l. 16. invisible air.
l. 19. The interposing bar which binds a soul
And makes the idiot, just as makes the sage
Some film removed, the happy outlet whence
Truth issues proudly? See this soul of ours!

l. 23. How it strives weakly in the child,
l. 26. Why is it, flesh enthralls it or enthrones?
What is this flesh we have to penetrate?
Oh, not alone
l. 30. Ruffles its current;
[after l. 37.]

l. 38. Therefore, set free the soul alike in all,
Discovering the true laws
l. 44. To put forth just our strength,
l. 46. Gifted alike, all eagle-eyed,
p. 45, l. 3. The sacred knowledge,
l. 4. long lost or never found
[after l. 12.]

l. 13. Were only born to vanish in this life,
Refused to fit them to its narrow sphere,
But chose to figure forth another world

l. 21. Like those
l. 29. Yonder, is mixed its mass of schistous ore.

p. 41, l. 3. Tell me, Festus, Michal, but one thing — I have told
All I shall e'er disclose to mortal . . . now,
l. 6. And I, dear Aureole!
[after l. 13.]

l. 39. But one thing, Festus, Michal! I have told
All I shall e'er disclose to mortal: say —
l. 42. I ever did believe!
p. 46, l. 4. We wait you when you rise!

II. Paracelsus Attains.

Scene. Constantinople. — "The House of the Greek."
[p. 42, after l. 3.]

Scene, Constantinople; the house of a Greek conjurer.
p. 46, l. 4. With all that length of domes and minarets;

p. 43, l. 6. Within his roll:

l. 21. Their previous life's attainment, in his roll,
Before his promised secret, as he vaunts,
Make up the sum:

[p. 45, after l. 7.]

p. 47, l. 33. Was it the light wind sang it o'er the sea?
[p. 48, in l. 5.]

p. 46, l. 1. 'T is little wonder truly; things go on
And at their worst they end or mend — 't is time
To look about, with matters at this pass:
Have I insensibly sunk as deep — has all
l. 11. To flounder through the scrape — I could not chuse
p. 50, l. 3. Yet all was then o'erlook'd, though noted now

l. 5. I hoped that once!
What, sunk insensibly so deep? Has all
l. 13. End things or mend them, — why, I could not choose
p. 50, l. 2. And all the beauty, all the wonder fell
On either side the truth, as its mere robe;
I see the robe now — then I saw the form.

p. 54, l. 12. To mould them, and complete them, and pursue them!
(*After a pause.*)
Yet God is good:
[p. 55, after l. 10.]

p. 52, l. 11. To mould them, and completing them, possess!

l. 12. Yet God is good:
l. 31. I hear a voice, perchance I heard
Long ago, but all too low
So that scarce a care it stirred
If the voice were real or no:
I heard it in my youth when first
The waters of my life outburst:
But, now their stream ebbs faint, I hear
That voice, still low, but fatal-clear —
As if all poets, God ever meant
Should save the world, and therefore lent
Great gifts to, but who, proud, refused
To do his work, or lightly used
Those gifts, or failed through weak endeavor,
p. 53, l. 1. So, mourn cast off by him forever, —
As if these leaned in airy ring
To take me; this the song they sing.

[p. 55, after l. 14.]

l. 9. Knowing what thou sink'st beneath.
So sank we in those old years,

l. 16. Lost one, come! the last
Who, living, hast life o'erpast,
And altogether we
Will ask for us and ask for thee,

[p. 56, after l. 2.]

[p. 57, after l. 1.]

l. 7. Ay, look on me! shall I be king or no?

[p. 58, after l. 2.]

l. 3. I am to be degraded, after all,

[p. 59, after l. 13.]

[after l. 18.]

p. 68, l. 13. Did'st not perceive, spoil'd by the subtle ways
Of intricate but instantaneous thought,
That common speech was useless to its ends —
That language, wedded from the first to thought,
Will strengthen as it strengthens; but, divorced,
Will dwindle, while thought widens more and more? . . .

We who bid thee, come! thou last,
Who, living yet, hast life o'erpast.
And altogether we, thy peers,
Will pardon crave for thee, the last,

l. 18. Yet we trusted thou shouldst speak
The message which our lips, too weak,
Refused to utter, — shouldst redeem
Our fault: such trust, and all a dream!

p. 54, l. 2. Art thou the poet who shall save the world?

l. 8. Art thou the sage I only seemed to be,
Myself of after-time, my very self
With sight a little clearer, strength more firm,
Who robes him in my robe and grasps my crown
For just a fault, a weakness, a neglect?

l. 29. Thou art the sober searcher, cautious striver,
As if, except through me, thou hast searched or striven!
Ay, tell the world! Degrade me after all,

p. 55, l. 18. Oh, ye who armed me at such cost,

l. 23. They spread contagion, doubtless: yet he seemed
To echo one foreboding of my heart
So truly, that . . . no matter! How he stands
With eve's last sunbeam staying on his hair
Which turns to it as if they were akin:
And those clear smiling eyes of saddest blue
Nearly set free, so far they rise above
The painful fruitless striving of the brow
And enforced knowledge of the lips, firm-set
In slow despondency's eternal sigh!
Has he, too, missed life's end, and learned the cause?)

[p. 59, after l. 42.]

III. PARACELSUS.

Scene. — A chamber in the house of Paracelsus at Basil.

p. 85, l. 10. Nor was this the scheme of one
Enamour'd of a lot unlike the world's,
And thus far sure from common casualty —
(Folly of follies !) in that, thus, the mind,
Became the only arbiter of fate.
No; what I term'd and might conceive my choice,
Already had been rooted in my soul —
Had long been part and portion of myself.

[p. 90, after l. 23.]

p. 92, l. 4. I spoke not of my labors *here* — past doubt
I am quite competent to answer all
Demands, in any such capacity —

p. 99, l. 9. Nay, was assured no such could be for me,

[after line 19.]

p. 100, l. 19. Whatever that may be — but not tell then.

p. 102, l. 21. the hate between us
Is on one side. Should it prove otherwise

p. 103, l. 7. It is, I fancy, some slight proof my old
Devotion suffer'd not a looking-off,

p. 104, l. 9. Its nature in the next career they try

p. 108, l. 4. As calmly, as sincerely, as I may;

p. 113, l. 13. I know your unexampled sins,
But I know too what sort of soul is prone

Scene, Basel; a chamber in the house of Paracelsus.

p. 67, l. 28. That was in those Würzburg days!

p. 70, l. 5. To judge by any good their prayers effect.
I knew you would have helped me — why not he,
My strange competitor in enterprise,
Bound for the same end by another path,
Arrived, or ill or well, before the time,
At our disastrous journey's doubtful close?
How goes it with Aprile? Ah, they miss
Your lone sad sunny idleness of heaven,
Our martyrs for the world's sake; heaven shuts fast:

[after l. 39.]

[p. 74, after l. 10.]

l. 21. With aims not mine and yet pursued like mine,
With the same fervor and no more success,

[after l. 43.]

p. 75, l. 43. but if I fail,

[p. 76, after l. 4.]

l. 5. These old aims suffered not a looking-off

l. 28. The nature of the hated task I quit.

[p. 78, after l. 18.]

p. 80, l. 43. I call your sin exceptional;

To errors of that stamp — sins like to spring
From one alone whose life

p. 114, l. 3. And that his flattering words should soothe me better
Than fulsome tributes: not that that is strange:
Come, I will show you where my merit lies.
I ne'er supposed that since *I* fail'd no other
Needs hope success: I act as though each one
Who hears me may aspire: now mark me well:

p. 115, l. 4. free to make
That use of me which I disdain'd to make
Of my forerunners — (vanity, perchance;
But had I deem'd their learning wonder-worth,
I had been other than I am) — to mount
Those labors as a platform,

p. 116, l. 6. With Hercules' club, Achilles' shield, Ulysses'
Bow — a choice sight to scare the crows away!

p. 117, l. 7. I have abjured.

l. 8. And, for the principles,

p. 81, l. 1. It springs from one whose life [after l. 8.]

l. 9. Come, I will show you where my merit lies.

l. 27. free to mount
These labors as a platform,

p. 82, l. 1. Graced with Ulysses' bow, Achilles' shield —
Flash on us, all in armor, thou Achilles!
Make our hearts dance to thy resounding step!
A proper sight to scare the crows away!

l. 25. just abjured:
I must go find them scattered through the world,
Then, for the principles,

IV. Paracelsus Aspires.

p. 124. Scene. — A house at Colmar, in Alsatia.

p. 125, l. 13. So well but there the hideous stamp shall stay,
To teach the man they fawn on who they are

p. 126, l. 12. Once more I aspire! And you are here! All this
Is strange, and strange my message.

p. 128, l. 9. I had huge praise, and doubtless might have grown
Grey in the exposition of such antics,
Had my stock lasted long enough; but such
Was not my purpose: one can ne'er keep down
Our foolish nature's weakness . . .

l. 22. Of truth. Forthwith a mighty squadron straight

p. 85. Scene, Colmar in Alsatia; an inn.

p. 86, l. 16. Out of the furrow; there that stamp shall stay
To show the next they fawn on, what they are,
This Basil with its magnates, — fill my cup, —

p. 86, l. 38. Once more I aspire. I call you to my side:
You come. You thought my message strange?

p. 87, l. 33. I got huge praise: but one can ne'er keep down
Our foolish nature's weakness.

l. 43. Of truth," just what you bade me! I spoke out.
Forthwith a mighty squadron, in disgust,

p. 129, l. 9. This doctor set a school up to revive
The good old ways which could content our sires,

p. 133, l. 11. From tall trees where tired winds are fain,
Spent with the vast and howling main,
[p. 134, after l. 10.]
p. 135, l. 10. which lately seem'd
The mere persuasion of fantastic dreams :
[in l. 13.]

l. 13. Well then —
For all my cause should seem the cause of God
[in l. 18.]

l. 18. nor should,
On the other hand, those honey'd pleasures follow
p. 136, l. 16. nor shall sad days

p. 137, l. 15. I ne'er sought to domineer;
The mere asserting my supremacy
Has little mortified their self-conceit ;
I took my natural station and no more ;
p. 138, l. 6. and, had I been but wise,
Had ne'er concern'd myself with scruples, nor
Communicated aught to such a race ;

l. 9. But been content to own myself a man,
[after l. 18.]
l. 19. Your tenets' soundness in his person.
[p. 143, after l. 6.]

p. 143, l. 7. Shall make as though my ardent words should find
[p. 144, after l. 13.]

p. 88, l. 10. That fiery doctor who had hailed me friend,
Did it because my by-paths, once proved wrong
And beaconed properly, would commend again
The good old ways our sires jogged safely o'er,
p. 90, l. 10. Down sea-side mountain pedestals,
From tree-tops where tired winds are fain,
l. 40. Aprile was a poet, I make songs —
p. 91, l. 12. late years have quenched :
I have tried each way singly : now for both !
l. 15. at once,
Not one without the other as before.
Suppose my labor should seem God's own cause
l. 21. My soul
Can die then, nor be taunted — "What was gained ? "
Nor, on the other hand, should pleasure follow
l. 41. Nor shall the present —
A few dull hours, a passing shame or two,
p. 92, l. 18. I would spare their self-conceit

l. 26. what idle scruples, then,
Were those that ever bade me soften it,
Communicate it gently to the world,
Instead of proving my supremacy,
Taking my natural station o'er their head,
Then owning all the glory was a man's !
l. 41. (*Fiat experientia corpore vili*)
Your medicine's soundness in his person.
p. 95, l. 5. Why do you start? I say, she listening here,
(For yonder — Würzburg through the orchard-bough !)
Motions as though such ardent words should find
l. 32. Have I, you ask ?
Often at midnight, when most fancies come,
Would some such airy project visit me :
But ever at the end . . . or will you hear
The same thing in a tale, a parable ?
You and I, wandering over the wide world,

Chance to set foot upon a desert coast.
Just as we cry, "No human voice before
Broke the inveterate silence of these rocks!"
— Their querulous echo startles us; we turn:
What ravaged structure still looks o'er the sea?
Some characters remain, too! While we read,
The sharp salt wind, impatient for the last
Of even this record, wistfully comes and goes,
Or sings that we recover, mocking it.
This is the record; and my voice, the wind's. [*He sings.*

p. 144, l. 16. Cleaving prows in order brave,
With speeding wind and a bounding wave —
[p. 145, after l. 2.]
l. 6. Cedar-pales in scented row
Kept out the flakes of dancing brine:
An awning droop'd the mast below,
l. 11. When the sun dawn'd, gay and glad,
l. 21. Lay stretch'd — each weary crew

[p. 146, after l. 2.]

l. 3. At morn we started
l. 6. Not so the isles our voyage must find
Should meet our longing eye;
l. 10. Many a night and many a day,
And land, though but a rock, was nigh;
l. 13. And let the purple flap in the wind:
p. 147, l. 4. A loaded raft, and happy throngs
l. 11. Then we awoke with sudden start

p. 96, l. 7. With cleaving prows in order brave
To a speeding wind and a bounding wave,
l. 15. To bear the playful billows' game:
l. 19. Where cedar poles in scented row
Kept out the flakes of the dancing brine,
And an awning drooped the mast below,
In fold on fold of the purple fine,
l. 26. When the sun dawned, oh, gay and glad
l. 36. Lay stretched along, each weary crew
l. 40. So the stars wheeled round, and the darkness past,
And at morn we started
p. 97, l. 1. "Avoid it," cried our pilot, "check
The shout, restrain the eager eye!"
l. 4. For many a night and many a day,
And land, though but a rock, drew nigh;
l. 7. Let the purple awning flap in the wind,
l. 20. A loaded raft with happy throngs
l. 27. Oh, then we awoke with sudden start

V. Paracelsus Attains.

Scene. — A cell in the Hospital of St. Sebastian, at Salzburg.
p. 159, l. 14. Other provision is for him you seek.

p. 165, l. 2. By them: and what had *you* to do, wise peers?

Scene, Salzburg; a cell in the Hospital of St. Sebastian.
p. 102, l. 41. Higher provision is for him you seek
Amid our pomps and glories: see it here!
p. 105, l. 24. By the others! What had you to do, sage peers?
Here stand my rivals; Latin, Arab, Jew,
Greek, join dead names against me: all I ask

l. 3. Only observe: why fiends may learn from them!
l. 10. Their dead names brow-beating me. Wretched crew!

l. 18. how we met face to face . . .

[in l. 19.]

l. 20. In truth my delicate witch,
p. 173, l. 7. white-hair'd Jews . . .

p. 177, l. 17. In and out the soft and wet
Clay that breeds them, brown as they.
p. 178, l. 2. Arouses . . .
p. 181, l. 7. It is not fair. Your own turn will arrive
Some day. Dear Festus, you will die like me —
Your turn will come so that you do but wait!
p. 186, l. 22. though the lion heart repines not
At working through such lets its purpose out.
p. 190, l. 3. (So would a spirit deem, intent on watching
The purpose of the world from its faint rise
To its mature development) — some point
Whereto those wandering rays should all converge —
Might: neither put forth blindly,
l. 20. Anticipations, hints of these and more
Are strewn confusedly everywhere — all seek
An object to possess and stamp their own;

Is, that the world enroll my name with theirs,
And even this poor privilege, it seems,
They range themselves, prepared to disallow.
Only observe! why, fiends may learn from them!
l. 37. And their dead names browbeating me! Gray crew,
Yet steeped in fresh malevolence from hell,
l. 46. We met here face to face:
I said the crown should fall from thee. Once more
We meet as in that ghastly vestibule:
Look to my brow! Have I redeemed my pledge?
p. 106, l. 4. Oh, emptiness of fame!
O Persic Zoroaster, lord of stars!
— Who said these old renowns, dead long ago,
Could make me overlook the living wor'd
To gaze through gloom at where they stood, indeed,
But stand no longer? What a warm light life
After the shade! In truth, my delicate witch,
p. 109, l. 32. white-haired Jews
Bound for their own land where redemption dawns.
p. 111, l. 35. In and out the marl and grit
That seems to breed them, brown as they:
l. 41. Rouses, creep he ne'er so still.
p. 113, l. 22. It is not lawful. Your own turn will come
One day. Wait, Festus! You will die like me.

p. 116, l. 10. thus I entered on my course.

[p. 117, after line 27.]

l. 28. Some point where all those scattered rays should meet
Convergent in the faculties of man.
Power — neither put forth blindly,
l. 43. Hints and previsions of which faculties,
Are strewn confusedly everywhere about
The inferior natures, and all lead up higher

p. 196, l. 4. Although my own name led the brightness in :	[p. 120, after l. 20.]
p. 197, l. 5. remain'd alone Of all the company, and, even the least, More than a match for my concentred strength	[in l. 44.]
l. 12. from its uprise ;	l. 44. seemed, even the least, Itself a match for my concentred strength —
p. 199, l. 19. But 't is but for a time ;	p. 121, l. 4. from its uprise : I saw Aprile — my Aprile there ! p. 122, l. 8. It is but for a time ;

Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in Their Day : To wit : Bernard de Mandeville, Daniel Bartoli, Christopher Smart, George Bubb Dodington, Francis Furini, Gerard de Lairesse, and Charles Avison. Introduced by A Dialogue between Apollo and the Fates ; concluded by Another between John Fust and his Friends. Smith, Elder & Co., London. This was the full title-page of the poem ; and on the next page was the following dedication : In Memoriam J. Milsand. Obiit iv. Sept. MDCCCLXXXVI. *Absens absentum auditque videtque.* Pages, 1–268. Published in 1887.

M. Milsand was one of Browning's earliest friends. To him was dedicated the revised *Sordello*. He was the first Frenchman to recognize the poetical work of Browning, and he wrote an essay on that subject in 1851, which was published in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 11 : 651. He also reviewed *Men and Women* in the same periodical in 1856. 16 : 511. For several summers the two friends spent some months near each other in Normandy. In a letter written immediately after the death of M. Milsand, in September, 1886, Browning called him "my belovedest of friends." "The relationship between Browning and Milsand was a very beautiful one," says Mr. Kingsland ; "and it was truly delightful to see these old and staunch friends together."

See *The Browning Society's Papers*, number nine, 2 : 169, Arthur Symons ; also 2 : 211* and 2 : 187* ; Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts*.

Parting at Morning. See *Meeting at Night*, of which this poem is the sequel.

Patriot, The. An Old Story. *Men and Women*. 1855. *Romances*, 1863 ; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

Browning has distinctly stated that this poem does not refer to Arnold or Arnaldo of Brescia, though in the first

edition Brescia was mentioned in the poem as the scene of the adventure described. No particular historical event is indicated; the aim of the poem is not historical, but dramatic. Brescia is an important city of Lombardy, about midway between Milan and Verona, with a population of nearly fifty thousand. It has had a long and eventful history, and might well have been the scene of the patriot's success and failure.

Paul Desforges Maillard. The second of the poets in *Two Poets of Croisic*, which see.

Pauline: a Fragment of a Confession. Written in 1832, and published by Saunders & Otley in 1833, price five shillings. At the end the poem was dated, "Richmond, October 22, 1832;" but the poet never lived in that place. The extract from *H. Cor. Agrippa. De Occult. Phil.*, which was printed as a preface, was dated "London, January, 1833." Pages, 1–71.

In his article on *The Early Writings of Robert Browning*, printed in the *Century Magazine*, republished in *Personalia*, Mr. Edmund Gosse gives the following account of this poem: "At Richmond, on the 22d of October, 1832, Mr. Browning finished a poem which he named, from the object, not the subject, *Pauline*. This piece was read and admired at home, and one day his aunt said to the young man: 'I hear, Robert, that you have written a poem; here is the money to print it.'

"Accordingly, in January, 1833, there went to press, anonymously, a little book of seventy pages, which remained virtually unrecognized until the author, to preserve it from piracy, unwillingly received it among the acknowledged children of his muse, in 1867."

Sharp, in his *Life*, adds an item or two in his account of the writing of this poem: "When he read the poem to his parents, upon its conclusion, both were much impressed by it, though his father made severe strictures upon its lack of polish, its terminal inconcision, and its vagueness of thought. That he was not more severe was accepted by his son as high praise. The author had, however, little hope of seeing it in print. Mr. Browning was not anxious to provide a publisher with a present. So one day the poet was gratified when his aunt, handing him the requisite sum, re-

marked that she had heard he had written a fine poem, and that she wished to have the pleasure of seeing it in print."

Some phases of the subsequent history of the poem are well told by Mr. Gosse. "But, although *Pauline* was excluded from recognition by its author for more than thirty years, he has to confess that its production was attended with circumstances of no little importance to him. It was the intention and desire of Mr. Browning that the authorship should remain entirely unknown, but Miss Flower told the secret to Mr. Fox, who reviewed the poem with great warmth and fullness in the *Monthly Repository*. But a more curious incident was that a copy fell into the hands of John Stuart Mill, who was only six years the senior of the poet. It delighted him in the highest degree, and he immediately wrote to the editor of *Tait's Magazine*, the only periodical in which he was at that time free to express himself, for leave to review *Pauline* at length. The reply was that nothing would have been more welcome, but that, unfortunately, in the preceding number the poem had been dismissed with one line of contemptuous neglect. Mr. Mill's opportunities extended no further than this one magazine, but at his death there came into Mr. Browning's possession this identical copy, the blank pages of which were crowded with Mill's annotations and remarks.

"The late John Forster took such an interest in this volume that he borrowed it, — 'convey, the wise it call,' — and when he died, it passed with his library into the possession of the South Kensington Museum, where the curious relic of the youth of two eminent men has at last found a resting-place. Nor was this the only instance in which the poem, despite its anonymity and its rawness, touched a kindred chord in a man of genius. There was much in it that was new, forcible, and fine, — such passages of description as that of the wood where Pauline and her lover met, or such fine bursts of versification as that about Andromeda.

"Such beauties as these were not likely to escape the notice of curious lovers of poetry. Many years after, when Mr. Browning was living in Florence, he received a letter from a young painter whose name was quite unknown to him, asking whether he were the author of a poem called

Pauline, which was somewhat in his manner, and which the writer had so greatly admired that he had transcribed the whole of it in the British Museum reading-room. The letter was signed D. G. Rossetti, and thus began Mr. Browning's acquaintance with this eminent man. But to the world at large *Pauline* was a sealed book, read by nobody, and the reviewers simply ignored it."

In a letter addressed from Isère, France, to Mr. William Sharp, Browning gave an account of Rossetti's interest in *Pauline*, and of their subsequent acquaintance: "Rossetti's *Pauline* letter was addressed to me at Florence more than thirty years ago. I have preserved it, but, even were I at home, should be unable to find it without troublesome searching. It was to the effect that the writer, personally and altogether unknown to me, had come upon a poem in the British Museum, which he copied the whole of, from its being not otherwise procurable — that he judged it to be mine, but could not be sure, and wished me to pronounce in the matter — which I did. A year or two after, I had a visit in London from Mr. (William) Allingham and a friend — who proved to be Rossetti. When I heard he was a painter I insisted on calling on him, though he declared he had nothing to show me — which was far enough from the case. Subsequently, on another of my returns to London, he painted my portrait, not, I fancy, in oils, but watercolors, and finished it in Paris shortly after. This must have been in the year when Tennyson published *Maud*, for I remember Tennyson reading the poem one evening while Rossetti made a rapid pen-and-ink sketch of him, very good, from one obscure corner of vantage, which I still possess, and duly value. This was before Rossetti's marriage."

The review of *Pauline* by W. J. Fox opens with a discussion of the importance of recognizing the soul in literature, and then continues: "These thoughts have been suggested by the work before us, which, though evidently a hasty and imperfect sketch, has truth and life in it, which gave us the thrill, and laid hold of us with the power, the sensation of which has never failed us as a test of genius. Whoever the anonymous author may be, he is a poet. A pretender to science cannot always be safely judged of by

a brief publication, for the knowledge of some facts does not imply the knowledge of other facts; but the claimant of poetic honors may generally be appreciated by a few pages, often but a few lines, for if they be poetry, he is a poet. We cannot judge of the house by the brick, but we can judge of the statue of Hercules by its foot. We felt certain of Tennyson, before we saw the book, by a few verses which had straggled into a newspaper; we are not less certain of the author of *Pauline.*

"Pauline is the recipient of the confessions: the hero is as anonymous as the author, and this is no matter; for *poet* is the title both of the one and the other. The confessions have nothing in them which needs names: the external world is only reflected in them in the faintest shades; its influences are only described after they have penetrated into the intellect. We have never read anything more purely confessional. The whole composition is of the spirit, spiritual. The scenery is in the chambers of thought; the agencies are powers and passions; the events are transitions from one state of spiritual existence to another. And yet the composition is not dreamy; there is on it a deep stamp of reality. Still less is it characterized by coldness. It has visions that we love to look upon, and tones that touch the inmost heart till it responds."

"The poet's confessions are introduced with an analysis of his spiritual constitution, in which he is described as having an intense consciousness of individuality, combined with a sense of power, a self-supremacy, and a 'principle of restlessness which would be all, have, see, know, taste, feel all' of this essential self; an imagination, steady and unfailing in its power, is described as the characteristic quality. A 'yearning after God' or supreme and universal good, unconsciously cherished through the earlier stages of the history, keeps this mind from utterly dissipating itself; there is added an unaptness for love, a mere perception of the beautiful, the perception being felt more precious than its object. In the progress and development of the being thus constituted, we first see a solitary boy, whose mind neither parent, teacher, nor friend seems to be in communion with, or influencing; untutored by any one, unattracted towards any one, shut up by himself in a library,

and spontaneously intent on the great classic writers. But the ideal, though thus strongly infused into his being, did not wholly pervade or permanently elevate it. A vague sense of power was generated, but the pressure of circumstances kept the spirit down; restraint humbled and corrupted the soul; and the mental and moral degradation which had commenced would have proceeded rapidly and fatally, but that a purity of taste had been produced which interposed to check the downward progress; and in music a ministry was found which was one of preservation, till the soul was ripened for higher aspirations.

"Dissatisfied with his own acquirements and achievements, the young minstrel now seeks to know what has been done by the master-spirits of the earth: he gazes on the works of mighty bards and sages; he looks unappalled, for he finds his own thoughts recorded and his own powers exemplified; he turns from them to self-study and analysis; his sight is sharpened and his powers excited by introspection; he feels the misgivings felt of old, and would make or recognize the discovery desired of old: he, too, would solve the world's enigma.

"He enters the world, and the bright theories which at first spread their lustre over the affairs of real life are soon darkened and dissipated by his nearer observance. A corresponding change in himself follows. This state is described through several pages, with its various incidents, fluctuations, and modifications, until the moral power shows its returning life by a feeling of irritable dissatisfaction, a longing after higher good, and a sense of capacity for its enjoyment.

"And now, when he has run the whole toilsome yet giddy round and arrived at the goal, there arises, even though that goal be religion, or because it is religion, a yearning after human sympathies and affections. The poem is addressed to Pauline; with her it begins and ends; and her presence is felt throughout as that of a second conscience, wounded by evil, but never stern, and incorporate in a form of beauty which blends and softens the strong contrasts of different portions of the poem, so that all might be murmured by the breath of affection."

The first of the mottoes to the poem has been translated in this manner: —

"Not now am I what I have been,
Nor know how I may be again."

The author was the Norman-French poet, Clément Marot, who lived from 1497 to 1544, and who was noted for his satire and his Protestant spirit. The other prefatory motto is from the preface to the *Occult Philosophy* of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, a French physician and astrologer, who lived from 1486 to 1535, and has been put into English in this form: "I doubt not but the title of our book by its rarity may entice very many to the perusal of it. Among whom many of hostile opinions, with weak minds, many even malignant and ungrateful will assail our genius, who in their rash ignorance, hardly before the title is before their eyes, will make a clamor. We are forbidden to teach, to scatter abroad the seeds of philosophy, pious ears being offended, clear-seeing minds having arisen. I, as a counselor, assail their consciences, but neither Apollo, nor all the muses, nor an angel from heaven, would be able to save me from their execrations, whom now I counsel that they may not read our books, that they may not understand them, that they may not remember them, for they are noxious, they are poisonous. The mouth of Acheron is in this book: it speaks often of stones; beware, lest by these it shake the understanding. You, also, who with fair mind shall come to the reading, if you will apply so much of the discernment of prudence as bees in gathering honey, then read with security. For, indeed, I believe you about to receive many things not a little both for instruction and enjoyment. But if you find anything that pleases you not, let it go that you may not use it, for I do not declare these things good for you, but merely relate them. Therefore if any freer word may be, forgive our youth; I, who am less than a youth, have composed this work."

The note on page 20, explaining line 811, written in French, and signed "Pauline," is also important as a means of interpreting the poem; and especially is it helpful in trying to get at the purpose of the poet in this work: "I much fear that my poor friend will not be always perfectly understood in what remains to be read of this strange fragment, and it is less appropriate than any other part to illustrate what of its nature can never be anything but

dream and confusion. Moreover, I do not very well know whether in seeking to connect certain parts better one would not run the risk of obstructing the only merit to which so singular a production can pretend, — that of giving a close enough idea of the kind of nature of which it has made merely a sketch. This unpretending opening, this stir of passions which go on at first increasing and then by degrees subside, these outbursts of the soul, this sudden return upon himself, and above all, the turn of mind quite peculiar to my friend, have made alterations almost impossible. The reasons he urges elsewhere, with others more powerful still, have found grace in my eyes for this work, which otherwise I should have advised him to throw into the fire. I believe none the less in the great principle of all composition, — in the great principle of Shakespeare, Raphael, and Beethoven, — from whence it follows that concentration of ideas is due much more to their conception than to their manner of execution: I have every reason to fear that the first of these qualities is still foreign enough to my friend, and I doubt very much if redoubled labor would enable him to acquire the second. It would be best to burn this; but what can I do?

"I think that in what follows he refers to a certain investigation he has made elsewhere of the soul, or rather of his soul, in order to discover the connection of the objects which it might be possible for him to attain, and from each of which, once obtained, a kind of platform could be formed from whence one could perceive other ends, other plans, other joys, which, in their turn, could be surmounted. Thence it would result that oblivion and sleep should come to end all. This idea, which I seize imperfectly, is perhaps as unintelligible to him as to me."

Only five years after the publication of Pauline Browning had come to feel its imperfections, as he indicated on the fly-leaf of a copy of the book, according to the report in the Browning *Bibliography*, page 38: —

"*Pauline* . . . written in pursuance of a foolish plan I forget, or have no wish to remember; involving the assumption of several distinct characters: the world was never to guess that such an opera, such a comedy, such a speech proceeded from the same notable person. Mr. V. A. (see

page second) was Poet of the party, and predestined to cut no inconsiderable figure. 'Only this crab' (I find set down in my copy) 'remains of the shapely Tree of Life in my fools' Paradise.'

"(I cannot muster resolution to deal with the printers' blunders after the American fashion, and bid people 'for jocularity' read 'synthesis,' to the end of the chapter).

"*December* 14, 1838."

In 1868, when Browning was publishing an edition of his *Poetical Works*, he included *Pauline*, in order to prevent its publication by other hands; and the preface to this edition was a special defense of this act. This preface, together with an addition to it written for the edition of 1888, are of value in the study of the poem. They are both given in the Riverside edition of 1888. The poem was revised for the edition of 1888. *Pauline* was edited from the original edition in 1886, by Thomas J. Wise, and published in London by R. Clay & Sons; pages, 71.

In a note sent to Mr. Thomas J. Wise, in 1886, the poet explained some passages in the poem: "The King is Agamemnon, in the tragedy of that name by Aeschylus — whose treading the purple carpets spread before him by his wife, preparatory to his murder, is a notable passage. The boy is Orestes, as described at the end of the *Choephoroi* by the same author. V. A. XX. is the Latin abbreviation of *vixi annos*, I was twenty years old, that is, the imaginary subject of the poem was of that age."

Some of the allusions in the poem make it obscure until they are understood. A part of them are here explained.

Page 4, lines 38 and 40, and page 5, line 2, refer to Shelley.

Page 8, line 38. *The god wandering after beauty* is Apollo seeking Daphnis. See King's *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, i. 554.

Page 8, line 39. *The giant* is Atlas as described by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*. See King's translation, iv. 744.

Page 8, line 41. *The high-crested chief* is Nestor, who at the close of the Trojan war sails to Tenedos, as related in Homer's *Odyssey*. See Bryant's translation, iii. 200.

Page 9, line 6. *The isles of the blue sea* are those of the Aegean. — Line 9. *The swift-footed* is Hermes, the

herald of the gods, who with Proserpine is connected with death. See Aeschylus' *Choephorae*, i. 136; Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ii. 862; Homer's *Odyssey*, x. 608.

Page 10, line 36. *The man preferred to a system* is said by Mrs. Orr to refer to Plato. The editor of *Poet-Lore* is of the opinion that the man is Shelley, who is several times referred to in the poem.

Page 12, line 27. *The Arab bird* is the pelican, which often goes far from land, and continues its flight all night, floating on the wind, without moving its wings, for a long time.

Page 14, line 26. *The king treading the purple* is Agamemnon, as described in the play of Aeschylus by that name. See Potter's translation, line 1017; also Browning's translation, page 28, line 22.

Page 14, line 32. *The boy with white breast and brow* is Orestes, as described in the *Choephorae* of Aeschylus. See Potter's translation, line 1073.

Page 16, line 27. The *Andromeda* described is that of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iv. 792. Also that of a picture by Polidoro di Caravaggio, an engraving of which Browning had always before his eyes while he was writing this and his other earlier poem. Of this Sharp says in his *Life:* "It is strange that among all his father's collection of drawings and engravings nothing had such fascination for him as an engraving of a picture of Andromeda and Perseus by Caravaggio. The story of the innocent victim and the divine deliverer was one of which in his boyhood he never tired of hearing: and as he grew older the charm of its pictorial presentment had for him a deeper and more complex significance."

Page 23, line 44. *The fair pale sister* is the Antigone described by Sophocles in his play by that name, line 760.

See Kingsland and Sharp, *The Monthly Repository*, W. J. Fox, 7 : 252. *The Athenæum*, April 6, 1833. The allusions in the poem are explained in *Poet-Lore*, January and February, 1889. The early criticisms are given in *The Browning Society's Papers*, number nine, 2 : 194*.

The question of a reprint is discussed in *The Atlantic Monthly*, 49 : 570.

Pearl, A, a Girl. *Asolando*, 1889.

Peter Ronsard. The speaker in *The Glove*, who tells the story of how Sir De Lorge snatched a glove from amidst the lions.

Pheidippides. *Dramatic Idyls*, First Series, 1879.

This poem is based on an incident related in Herodotus, *History*, vi. 105, 106; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, i. 28, viii. 54; Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, 4. In Pausanias and Cornelius Nepos the name of the hero is Philippides; and in Herodotus both forms are given in different manuscripts. In the year 490 B. C., when the Persians were invading Greece, the former landed on the coast of Attica, and camped on the shore near the plain of Marathon. Word of this having been received in Athens a consultation was held by the generals, who sent a swift runner to Sparta to beg for aid. His adventures are described by Herodotus in his *History*, as translated by Rawlinson: —

"And first, before they left the city, the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, one Pheidippides, who was by birth an Athenian, and by birth and practice a trained runner. This man, according to the account which he gave to the Athenians on his return, when he was near Mount Parthenium, above Tegea, fell in with the god Pan, who called him by his name, and bade him ask the Athenians 'wherefore they neglected him so entirely, when he was kindly disposed towards them, and had often helped them in times past, and would do so again in time to come?' The Athenians, entirely believing in the truth of this report, as soon as their affairs were once more in good order, set up a temple to Pan under the Acropolis, and, in return for the message which I have recorded, established in his honor yearly sacrifices and a torch-race.

"On the occasion of which we speak, when Pheidippides was sent by the Athenian generals, and, according to his own account saw Pan on his journey, he reached Sparta on the very next day after quitting the city of Athens. Upon his arrival he went before the rulers, and said to them: —

"'Men of Lacedaemon, the Athenians beseech you to hasten to their aid, and not allow that state, which is the most ancient in all Greece, to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria, look you, is already carried away captive, and Greece weakened by the loss of no mean city.'

"Thus did Pheidippides deliver the message committed to him. And the Spartans wished to help the Athenians, but were unable to give them any present succor, as they did not like to break their established law. It was the ninth day of the first decade, and they could not march out of Sparta on the ninth, when the moon had not reached the full. So they waited for the full of the moon."

Pausanias, in his *Description of Greece*, gives the story in a briefer form: "And as to Pan, they say that Phillipides (who was sent as a messenger to Lacedaemon when the Persians landed) reported that the Lacedaemonians were deferring their march: for it was their custom not to go out on a campaign till the moon was at its full. But he said that he had met with Pan near the Parthenian forest, and he had said that he was friendly to the Athenians, and would come out and help them at Marathon. Pan has been honored therefore for this message."

The distance from Athens to Sparta is from 135 to 140 miles. Pheidippides evidently belonged to the trained runners, who had great powers of endurance, and who were employed on occasions like this. The Spartans were celebrating, on the arrival of Pheidippides, their great national festival of *Carneia*, which lasted for nine days, and during which they were not permitted to take the field against an enemy. Grote thinks the act of the Spartans the result of the "blind tenacity of ancient custom." Rawlinson is of the opinion that it "may be explained on selfish grounds, and that the excuse was no more than a subterfuge." The Greek game of *Lampadephoria*, or torch-bearing, may have been suggestive to Browning in the writing of this poem. Neither Herodotus nor Plutarch gives any account of Pheidippides after the battle of Marathon, as related by Browning. This part of the poem is probably original, or suggested by his general knowledge of Greek legend and custom. See Mrs. Orr and Symons.

Pictor Ignotus. Florence, 15—. *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. In *Poetical Works*, 1863, this poem was placed among *Men and Women* without the second part of the title; also in 1868. In the *Selections* of 1865 the full title is given; and also in the *Poetical Works* of 1888.

The character is wholly an imaginary one, but the poem gives a view of the mediæval spirit which is truly historical. See Corson's *Introduction*.

Pied Piper of Hamelin, The. According to Mr. Furnivall this poem was written for the son of William Macready, whose name was the same as his father's; and in order that he might have something adapted to illustration. Browning had written for the boy a poem on the death of the Pope's legate at the Council of Trent, and this he illustrated with such clever drawings that the poet sought out a more picturesque subject, and took up that of the Pied Piper. The poet seems to have thought the poem of but little value; and it was only when publishing his *Dramatic Lyrics*, as the third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, that it was put in at the end, when the poems already furnished did not fill out the sheet, and the printers called for additional "copy." Mr. Gosse says the poem was "a *jeu d'esprit* which he had written to amuse little Willie Macready, and which he had no idea of publishing."

It is stated by Mr. Furnivall, in his Browning *Bibliography*, that this story was taken by the poet from *The Wonders of the Little World: or, A General History of Man*, by Nathaniel Wanley, published in folio in 1678. Wanley's account of the Pied Piper, as given in a later edition of his work, is as follows: —

"At Hammel, a town in the Duchy of Brunswick, in the year of Christ, 1284, upon the twenty-sixth day of June, the town being grieviously troubled with rats and mice, there came to them a piper, who promised, upon a certain rate, to free them from them all: it was agreed; he went from street to street, and playing upon his pipe, drew after him out of the town all that kind of vermin, and then demanding his wages was denied it. Whereupon he began another tune, and there followed him one hundred and thirty boys to a hill called Koppen, situate on the north by the road, where they perished, and were never seen after. This piper was called the Pied Piper, because his clothes were of several colors. This story is writ, and religiously kept by them in their annals at Hammel, read in their books, and painted in their windows and churches, of which I am a witness by my own sight. Their elder magistrates,

for the confirmation of the truth of this, are wont to write in conjunction, in their public books, such a year of Christ, and such a year of the transmigration of the children, etc. It is also observed in the memory of it, that in the street he passed out of, no piper is admitted to this day. The street is called Burgelosestrasse; if a bride be in that street, till she is gone out of it there is no dancing to be suffered. *Wier. de Præstig. Dæmon.* l. 1, c. 16, p. 47. *Schot. Phys. Curios.* l. 3, c. 24, p. 519. *Howel's Ep.* vol. i. § 6. epist. 59, p. 241."

Wanley's references to the sources of his account are curious, but they do not include all which might have been given. The story is told in Heylin's *Microcosmos* and in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, as well as in numerous more recent and many older works. The last of the references given by Wanley is to James Howell's *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters Domestic and Forren*, where the story is told in these words:—

"The said Town of Hamelen was annoyed with Rats and Mice: and it chac'd, that a Pied-coated Piper came thither, who covenanted with the chief Burgers for such a reward, if he could free them quite from the said Vermin, nor would he demand it, till a twelvemonth, and a day after; The agreement being made, he began to play on his Pipes, and all the Rats, and the Mice, followed him to a great Lough hard by, where they all perish'd: so the Town was infested no more. At the end of the yeer, the Pied Piper return's for his reward, the Burgers put him off with slightings, and neglect, offring him som small matter, which he refusing, and staying som days in the Town, one Sunday morning at High-Masse, when most people were at Church, he fell to play on his Pipes, and all the children up and down, follow'd him out of the Town, to a great Hill not far off, which rent in two, and open'd, and let him and the children in, and so clos'd up again: This happen'd a matter of two hundred and fifty yeers since; and in that Town they date their Bills, and Bonds, and other instruments in Law, to this day from the yeer of the going out of their children: Besides, ther is a great piller of stone at the foot of the said Hill, wheron this story is engraven."

The first English account of the Pied Piper is that given

by Richard Verstegan, in his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, published in 1605. In his quaint manner he says: —

"There came into the Towne of *Hamel* in the Country of Brunswycke an old kind of companion, who for the fantasticall Coate which he wore, being wrought with sundry colours, was called the pide piper; for a piper he was, besides his other qualities. This fellow forsooth offered the towns-men for a certaine somme of money to rid the Towne of all the Rats that were in it (for at that tyme the Burgers were with that vermine greatly annoyed). The accord in fine being made the pide Piper with a shril Pipe went Piping thorow the streets, and forthwith the Rats came all running out of the Houses in great numbers after him; all which hee led into the River of *Weaser*, and therein drowned them. This done, and no one Rat more perceived to be left in the Towne; hee afterward came to demand his reward according to his bargaine, but being told that the bargain was not made with him in good earnest, to wit, with an opinion that ever he could bee able to doe such a feat: they cared not what they accorded unto, when they imagined it could never be deserued, and so never to bee demanded: but neverthelesse seeing hee had done such an unlikely thing indeed, they were content to give him a good reward; and so offred him farre lesse then he lookt for: but hee therewith discontented, said he would have his full recompence according to his bargain; but they utterly denyed to give it him, he threatened them with revenge; they bad him doe his worst; whereupon he betakes him againe to his Pipe, and going thorow the streets as before, was followed of a number of boyes out at one of the Gates of the City; and comming to a little Hill, there opened in the side thereof a wid hole, into the which himself & all the children, being in number one hundreth and thirty, did enter; and being entred, the Hill closed up againe, and become as before. A boy that being lame and came somewhat lagging behind the rest, seeing this that hapned, returned presently backe and told what he had seene; forthwith began great lamentation among the Parents for their Children, and men were sent out withall diligence, both by land, and water to enquire if ought could be heard of them, but with all the enquiry they could

possibly use, nothing more than is aforesaid could of them be understood. In memory whereof it was then ordained, that from thence-forth no Drumme, Pipe, or other instrument, should be sounded in the street leading to the gate thorow which they passed; nor no Ostery to be there holden. And it was also established, that from that time forward, in all publike writings that should be made in that Towne, after the date therein set downe of the yeere of our Lord, the date of the yeere of the going forth of their Children should be added, the which they have accordingly ever since continued. And this great wonder hapned on the 22. day of *Iuly*, in the yeere of our Lord, 1376."

We need not be concerned about the difference in the dates of these accounts, for the story of the Pied Piper is nothing more than a myth of the wind. Mr. Baring-Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* shows that the story is a widespread one, and that it is related to the Bishop of Hatto, which he also describes, to Goethe's Erlking, who steals the soul of the child, and to many other similar legends. Mr. John Fiske's *Myths and Myth-Makers* explains the story on mythological grounds, and its connection with many other forms of folk-lore. He says that "as Tannhäuser is the Northern Ulysses, so is Goethe's Erlking none other than the Piper of Hamelin. And the piper, in turn, is the classic Hermes or Orpheus, the counterpart of the Finnish Wainamoinen, and the Sanskrit Gunadhya. His wonderful pipe is the horn of Oberon, the lyre of Apollo (who, like the piper, was a rat-killer), the harp stolen by Jack when he climbed the bean-stalk to the ogre's castle. And the father, in Goethe's ballad, is no more than right when he assures his child that the siren voice which tempts him is but the rustle of the wind among the dried leaves; for from such a simple class of phenomena arose this entire family of charming legends."

Pietro Comparini. The reputed father of Pompilia, in *The Ring and the Book*, who is murdered with her and his wife by Count Guido.

Pietro of Abano. *Dramatic Idyls*, Second Series, 1880.

This poem is founded on the career of Peter of Abano, a physician, alchemist, and magician of the thirteenth cen-

tury. Pietro di Abano, known also as Petrus de Apono or Aponensis, was born in 1250, took his name from the place of his birth, which was located five and a half miles from Padua. He left the village of Abano to study at Padua, then went to Constantinople to acquire Greek, and afterwards he continued his studies in Paris, where he became a doctor of medicine and philosophy. Returning to Padua, he became a professor of medicine, and acquired a great reputation as a physician. He followed the Arabian physicians both in his practice and in the medical works he wrote. He charged enormous prices for his services, and was very avaricious, amassing large wealth. His personal egotism, together with his dabblings in magic and astrology, raised him up many enemies. He gained such a reputation as a magician that he was cited before the Inquisition in 1306. One charge popularly made against him was that his league with the devil enabled him to bring back into his purse all the money he paid out; and another was that he possessed the philosopher's stone. He defended himself so successfully before the Inquisition, where he was charged with being a heretic and atheist, that he was acquitted. He removed to Treviso in 1314, but the next year he was again before the Inquisition on a charge similar to the first. He died, however, before he could be brought to trial, in the year 1315. The trial was continued, he was condemned, and his body was ordered to be burnt. A friend had hidden the body, and the Inquisition burnt him in effigy, after promulgating its sentence. He was a follower of Averrhoes and the Arabian writers, he translated their medical works, and he promulgated their philosophical opinions. He was not an original thinker or investigator, but he skillfully used the knowledge he acquired from others. His best work is his *Conciliator differentiarum quae inter philosophos et medicos versantur.*

It is said that Pietro hated milk and cheese, that he fell into a swoon whenever he saw them; and this report is made use of by Browning. The lines given by Browning in a note, and said to have been found in a well at Abano, he translates; and he also refers to a version by Father Prout, who Englished them in fun; see his *Reliques*, p. 4:—

"Studying my cyphers with the compass,
I find I shall soon be under the daisy;
Because of my lore, folks make such a rumpus,
That every dull dog is thereat *unaisy*."

At Padua, in the wall of the vestibule of the Sacristy of the Church of the Eremitani, is set a stone to the memory of Pietro as follows: —

PETRI APONI

Cineres

Ob. An. 1315

Aet. 66.

The popular conception of Pietro in his own time is well set forth in Mackay's *Popular Delusions:* "Like his friend Arnold de Villeneuve, he was an eminent physician, and a pretender to the arts of astrology and alchemy. He practiced for many years in Paris, and made great wealth by killing and curing, and telling fortunes. In an evil day for him, he returned to his own country, with the reputation of being a magician of the first order. It was universally believed that he had drawn seven evil spirits from the infernal regions, whom he kept enclosed in seven crystal vases until he required their services, when he sent them forth to the ends of the earth to execute his pleasure. One spirit excelled in philosophy; a second, in alchemy; a third, in astrology; a fourth, in physic; a fifth, in poetry; a sixth, in music; and the seventh, in painting; and whenever Pietro wished for information or instruction in any of these arts, he had only to go to his crystal vase and liberate the presiding spirit. Immediately all the secrets of the art were revealed to him; and he might, if it pleased him, excel Homer in poetry, Apelles in painting, or Pythagoras in philosophy. Although he could make gold out of brass, it was said of him that he was very sparing of his powers in that respect, and kept himself constantly supplied with money by other and less creditable means. Whenever he disbursed gold, he muttered a certain charm, known only to himself, and the next morning the gold was safe again in his own possession. The trader to whom he gave it might

lock it in his strong box and have it guarded by a troop of soldiers, but the charmed metal flew back to its old master. Even if it were buried in the earth, or thrown into the sea, the dawn of the next morning would behold it in the pockets of Pietro. Few people, in consequence, liked to have dealings with such a personage, especially for gold. Some, bolder than the rest, thought that his power did not extend over silver; but, when they made the experiment, they found themselves mistaken. Bolts and bars could not restrain it, and it sometimes became invisible in their very hands, and was whisked through the air to the purse of the magician. He necessarily acquired a very bad character; and having given utterance to some sentiments regarding religion which were the very reverse of orthodox, he was summoned before the tribunals of the Inquisition to answer for his crimes as a heretic and sorcerer. He loudly protested his innocence, even upon the rack, where he suffered more torture than nature could support. He died in prison ere his trial was concluded, but was afterwards found guilty."

The story of the young Greek calling upon Pietro is taken from the legends of the time. A Spanish collection of early stories, *El Conde Lucanor*, gives a similar legend, and the poet Chamisso has put into German verse a similar story. In Bishop Thirlwall's *Letters to a Friend* he relates a story of a like character, picked up in Spain: "A young student calls on Don Manuel at Seville, and asks for a spell to get him along in life. Don Manuel calls to his housekeeper, 'Jacinta, roast the partridges. Don Diego will stay to dinner.' The student makes a grand career; is Dean, Bishop, and then Pope soon after he is forty. When Don Manuel calls on him in Rome, he threatens the magician, who has made him, with the prisons of the Holy Office. And then hears Don Manuel call out, 'Jacinta, you need *not* put down the partridges. Don Diego will not stay to dinner.' And lo! Diego found himself at Don Manuel's door, — with his way yet to make in the world."

Salomo si nôsset (noisset). Had Solomon but known this. — *Teneor vix.* I scarcely contain myself. — *Hactenus* (e made long). Hitherto.

Peason. Old English for peas. — *Pou sto.* Where I

stand; the reputed saying of Archimedes, that if he had a place to stand he could move the world.

Tithon. Tithonus, the lover of Aurora, for whom she obtained the gift of eternal life. — *Apage, Sathanas! dicam verbum Salomonis!* Depart, Satan! I command [thee] in the name of Solomon!

The reference at the end of the poem to *Tiberius* is taken from Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars;* in Alexander Thomson's quaint translation, as follows: "Soon after, as he was marching to Ilyricum, he called to consult the oracle of Geryon, near Patuvium [Padua]; and having drawn a lot by which he was desired to throw golden *tali* into the fountain of Aponus, for an answer to his enquiries, he did so, and the highest numbers came up. And those very *tali* are still to be seen at the bottom of the fountain." This fountain, situated in the Euganian hills, near Padua, famous for its mineral waters, is celebrated by Claudian in one of his elegies.

Venus, in the postscript, was the Roman term for the highest throw of the dice. "It signified, therefore," says Mrs. Orr, "the highest promise to him, who, in obedience to the oracle, had tested his fortunes at the fount of Abano, by throwing golden dice into it. The 'crystal' to which Mr. Browning refers is the water of the well or fount, at the bottom of which, as Suetonius declared, the dice thrown by Tiberius, and their numbers, are still visible. The little air which concludes the postscript reflects the careless or 'lilting' mood in which Mr. Browning had thrown the 'fancy dice' which cast themselves into the form of poem."

See *The Browning Society's Papers*, number two, 1 : 191, for the Rev. J. Sharpe's careful analysis of the poem and its teachings, also for a short sketch of Pietro of Abano.

Pillar at Sebzevar, A. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

The *Hudhud* is the fabulous bird of Solomon, according to Hebrew and Mohammedan legend, — the lapwing, a widely known bird in Asia and Europe. — *Sitara* is the Persian name for a star.

Pippa Passes: A Drama. The first number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1841, was occupied by *Pippa Passes*, which filled sixteen pages of the double-column pamphlet, and was sold for sixpence. Mr. Gosse says the

public was first won to Browning by this drama. First reprinted in the *Poems* of 1849.

Of the origin of the play Mrs. Orr says: "Mr. Browning was walking alone, in a wood near Dulwich, when the image flashed upon him of some one walking thus alone through life; one apparently too obscure to leave a trace of his or her passage, yet exercising a lasting though unconscious influence at every step of it; and the image shaped itself into the little silk-winder of Asola, Felippa, or Pippa."

The scene of the drama is laid at Asola, a small town thirty miles northwest of the city of Venice, and in the present province of Venice. See *Asolando* in this volume for an account of Asola.

The play has no historical foundation. Pippa's song in the second part, heard by Jules and Phene, refers to Catherine Cornaro, the Venetian queen of Cyprus; and this is the only historical fact in the play.

In his *Select Poems* Rolfe gives this drama with an introduction and extended notes. In *Browning's Women* Miss Burt devotes a part of her chapter on lyrical characters to Pippa.

Pippa. The young girl who works in the silk mills, and who is the chief character in *Pippa Passes.*

Pisgah-Sights. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems,* 1876. Two poems, numbered as I. and II., were published under this title. In the *Selections* from his poems made by himself, Second Series, 1880, Browning put as III. under this title the "Proem" to *La Saisiaz.*

Plot-Culture. *Ferishtah's Fancies,* 1884.

Laila is one of the poet's own creations, just as Ferishtah is also a fictitious personage.

Poems. Under this title Browning made in 1849 the first collected edition of his poetry; but it contained only *Paracelsus* and *Bells and Pomegranates.* It was published by Chapman & Hall, and was in two volumes. It contained the following words of preface: —

"Many of these pieces were out of print, the rest had been withdrawn from circulation, when the corrected edition, now submitted to the reader, was prepared. The

various Poems and Dramas have received the author's most careful revision.

"December, 1848."

The first volume contained: Paracelsus; Pippa Passes; King Victor and King Charles; Colombe's Birthday. The second volume contained: A Blot in the 'Scutcheon; The Return of the Druses; Luria; A Soul's Tragedy; Dramatic Romances and Lyrics.

The first complete edition was published in 1863, by Chapman & Hall, in three volumes, with the title: *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning.* Third Edition. Vol. I. Lyrics; Romances; Men and Women. Vol. II. Tragedies and other Plays. Vol. III. Paracelsus; Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day; Sordello. In the first volume appeared these words: —

"I dedicate these Volumes to my old friend John Forster, glad and grateful that he who, from the first publication of the various poems they include, has been their promptest and staunchest helper, should seem even nearer to me now than thirty years ago. R. B."

"London, April 21, 1863."

The poems of the first volume were preceded by this note of explanation as to the new arrangement of its contents: —

"In this Volume are collected and redistributed the pieces first published in 1842, 1845, and 1855, respectively, under the titles of 'Dramatic Lyrics,' 'Dramatic Romances,' and 'Men and Women.' Part of these were inscribed to my dear friend John Kenyon: I hope the whole may obtain the honor of an association with his memory.

"R. B."

The next complete edition was the *Poetical Works* of 1868, in six volumes, published by Smith, Elder & Co. The poems were printed in the order of their publication, with a few exceptions, as follows: Vol. I. Pauline; Paracelsus; Strafford. Vol. II. Sordello; Pippa Passes. Vol. III. King Victor and King Charles; Dramatic Lyrics; The Return of the Druses. Vol. IV. A Blot in the 'Scutcheon; Colombe's Birthday; Dramatic Romances. Vol. V. A Soul's Tragedy; Luria; Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day; Men and Women. Vol. VI. In a Balcony; Dramatis Personæ.

In 1888 a revised and complete edition was begun, and was finished the following year; published by Smith, Elder & Co., in sixteen volumes, as follows: I. Pauline; Sordello. II. Paracelsus; Strafford. III. Pippa Passes; King Victor and King Charles; The Return of the Druses; A Soul's Tragedy. IV. A Blot in the 'Scutcheon; Colombe's Birthday; Men and Women. V. Dramatic Romances; Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day. VI. Dramatic Lyrics; Luria. VII. In a Balcony; Dramatis Personæ. VIII. The Ring and the Book, books i. to vi. IX. The Ring and the Book, books v. to viii. X. The Ring and the Book, books ix. to xii. XI. Balaustion's Adventure; Prince Hohenstiel; Fifine at the Fair. XII. Red Cotton Night-Cap Country; The Inn Album. XIII. Aristophanes' Apology; The Agamemnon of Æschylus. XIV. Pacchiarotto; La Saisiaz; Two Poets of Croisic. XV. Dramatic Idyls, First and Second Series; Jocoseria. XVI. Ferishtah's Fancies; Parleyings.

It is worthy of note that Browning's complete works to date were published in the successive numbers of the *Official Guide of the Chicago and Alton Railroad*, beginning with December, 1872, and ending with October, 1874. They were edited by James Charlton, the general passenger agent of the road.

Poetics. *Asolando*, 1889.

Polyxena. The queen of Charles in *King Victor and King Charles*, a young and noble woman.

Pompilia. The young girl married to Count Guido, in *The Ring and the Book*, who was brutally treated by him, and when she escaped was murdered with her parents at his hands. The story of her life, as she tells it in the seventh book of the poem, is one of the most pathetic of narratives. She takes rank as one of the purest and most beautiful of imaginative creations known in any language. *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 263, contains a study of this character.

Ponte dell' Angelo, Venice. *Asolando*, 1889. See Appendix.

Pope, The, in *The Ring and the Book*, to whom is referred the final decision in the murder trial of Count Guido. His summing up of the case and decision for capital punishment forms the tenth book of the poem. See *Poet-*

Lore, 1 : 309, for an interpretation of this character, by Professor C. C. Shackford.

Pope, The, and the Net. *Asolando*, 1889.

In its main intent this poem would apply to Sixtus V. better than to any other pope, and especially so when the legendary accounts of him are taken into view. His father was not a fisherman, and he did not hang up in his palace a net; but tradition does make him a quite different man before and after his election as pope. Leti's biography of Sixtus represents him as dissembling before his election, and as using a hand of power after he had gained the object of his ambition. Dr. Furnivall is of the opinion that Browning invented the story of the poem.

The father of Sixtus V. was very poor, and the son rose step by step to the position of cardinal, by hard study and zeal. Leti describes him as "very humble and as faithfully discharging the duties of his office. He dissembled very cunningly, appeared to be very aged and weak, scarcely able to stand or walk, was obsequious to all, and appeared to have no ambitions.

"He very seldom stirred out, and when he went to mass appeared so little concerned that one would have thought he had no manner of interest in anything that happened within those walls. But he was nevertheless advancing his interest at a great rate, whilst he seemed to give himself no trouble about it. . . . He had lived many years in a very obscure manner, with an attendance suitable to the modesty and humility he made profession of. When he went to any consistory or congregation he put on an air of mildness and submission, and never was obstinate in supporting his own opinion in contradiction to any other cardinal, but giving up his own sentiments, he always suffered himself to be guided by somebody else. . . .

"He had foreseen that there would be great contests and divisions, and that the chiefs of the parties would concur in the election of some very old and infirm cardinal, which would give them time to lay their schemes better against another vacancy. This was the true reason of his shamming the imbecile, affecting to appear like a dying man. . . .

"When he perceived there was a sufficient number of votes to secure his election he threw the staff, with which he used

to support himself, into the middle of the chapel, stretched himself up, and appeared taller, by almost a foot, than he had done for several years. . . .

"At the very moment the scrutiny was ended he bid adieu to that appearance of humility he had so long worn. . . . Fernese said to him, 'Your Holiness seems a quite different sort of a man from what you were a few hours ago.' 'Yes,' said he, 'I was then looking for the keys of Paradise, which obliged me to stoop a little; but now I have found them, it is time to look upwards, as I am arrived at the summit of all human glory, and can climb no higher in this world.'"

Pope Sixtus the Fifth goes out from his palace, in *The Bean-Feast*, to see how his people fare, and sits down to eat beans with a poor man and his family.

Porphyria's Lover. First printed in 1836, in *The Monthly Repository*, edited by W. J. Fox, and published in London by Charles Fox (vol. x. p. 43), the title being *Porphyria*. It was signed "Z." In the third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, called *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1842, this poem was reprinted as II. of *Madhouse Cells*. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was printed by itself, and with the present title. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868. This poem has an interest as being the first monologue which Browning wrote.

Pretty Woman, A. *Men and Women*, 1855. In *Poetical Works* of 1863, put under *Lyrics;* in 1868, in *Dramatic Lyrics*.

Prince Berthold. The lawful claimant of the duchy held by Colombe, in *Colombe's Birthday*.

Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau. Savior of Society. Published in December, 1871, by Smith, Elder & Co., London. Pages, i.-iv., 1–148.

In this poem Hohenstiel-Schwangau represents France; but the name is formed from Hohen Schwangau, one of the castles of the king of Bavaria. The Prince is Louis Napoleon III., and it is he who is speaking throughout the poem, addressing a woman who has asked about his career. The poem was written immediately after the expulsion of Louis Napoleon from France by the Germans, and his retirement to England. It is a study of his character, and the means by which he came to be the emperor of the French. The

poet does not adhere strictly to history, and he often discusses quite other moral problems than those which rightly belong to the character of Napoleon III.

A curious interest connected with this poem is that which grows out of the fact of Mrs. Browning's great admiration for Napoleon III. She really regarded him, at the time when he became the president of the French republic, as a savior of society, and one from whom the greatest things could be expected. She had "a truly marvelous belief in Louis Napoleon's goodness and genius," says Mr. John H. Ingram, her biographer. She idealized him, made him a hero, looked to him for the salvation of Italy, and believed that he would realize her own glowing convictions concerning democracy. Writing to one of her friends in 1852, Miss Mary R. Mitford gave an account of Mrs. Browning's faith in Louis Napoleon: "Mrs. Browning says that the courage and activity shown in the *coup d'état* have never been surpassed. She says that the Prince says of himself, that his life will have four phases, — one all rashness and impudence, necessary to make his name known, and to make his own faults known to himself; the next, to combat with and triumph over anarchy; the third, the consolidation of France and pacification of Europe; and last, *un coup de pistolet*. The passion of parties is so excited, that the only thing which renders the last improbable is the sort of fate by which men of that high and calm courage often escape dangers by braving them." In a letter to Miss Mitford is to be found these words written by Mrs. Browning: "I wonder if the Empress pleases you as well as the Emperor. I approve altogether — and none the less, that he has offended Austria in the mode of announcement. Every cut of the whip on the face of Austria is an especial compliment to me, or so I feel it. Let him lead the Democracy to do its duty to the world, and use to the utmost his great opportunities." In her *Poems before Congress*, and in other poems about Italian independence, especially in her *Napoleon III. in Italy*, she expressed her unbounded faith in Louis Napoleon. She did not live long enough to have that faith destroyed.

At first, Browning shared in a measure the faith of his wife, for he too was a lover of Italy, and anxiously hoped

for its independence and unity. That early faith doubtless had much to do in causing him to write his subtle analysis of the character and career of the man who so thoroughly disappointed his hopes. Later events than those of 1852 showed that Louis Napoleon was in some degree an adventurer, that he did not believe in his own democratic utterances, and that he cared more for personal success and glory than for the liberation of oppressed peoples. The contrast between what he seemed to be, and what he proved to be, led the poet into his study of a character so well adapted to his love of eccentric and complex personalities.

Of the description of the succession of Roman high priests on page 375, Mrs. Orr says: "Mr. Browning desires me to say that he has been wrong in associating this custom with the little temple by the river Clitumnus, which he describes from personal knowledge. That to which the tradition refers stood by the lake of Nemi."

In number eight of *The Browning Society's Papers*, 2 : 119, is a study of this poem by C. H. Herford; and in number eleven is a study by Joseph King. Both of these will be found very helpful in the analysis and interpretation of the poem. Also *The New Englander*, 33 : 493; *The Examiner*, Dec. 23, 1871; *The Academy*, G. A. Simcox, Jan. 15, 1872.

Prologue. *Ferishtah's Fancies.* The valley of the Aosta, in which this poem was written, is in the northern part of Piedmont. *Gressony* is a village in this valley. — The *ortolan* is a song bird of Europe, and here refers to the *Emberiza hortulana*, or garden bunting, which is very common in Italy. This particular ortolan is not a songster, but is greatly valued for food. These birds are captured in great numbers, artificially fattened, and prepared for the table in the manner described in the poem. When fattened the ortolan is a mere lump of fat, of a luscious flavor, and is highly prized by gourmands.

Prologue. *Pacchiarotto.* Given in the Second Series of *Selections*, 1880, under the title, *A Wall*. Mrs. Orr says it "is a fanciful expression of the ideas of impediment visible and invisible, which may be raised by the aspect of a brick wall; such a one, perhaps, as projects at a right angle to the window of Mr. Browning's study, and was be-

fore him when he wrote." See Rolfe's *Select Poems* for comments and notes.

Prospice. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

This title means "Looking forward." The poem was written in the autumn succeeding the death of Mrs. Browning, and it is the poet's expression of his strong faith in a personal immortality. His faith in a life beyond death appears in *Apparent Failure*, *Pisgah Sights*, *Evelyn Hope*, *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, *Jochanan Hakkadosh*, *La Saisiaz*, *Reverie*, and other poems. In these poems, as well as in *Prospice*, his manner is dramatic and poetical, but the idea is quite as distinct as and more emphatic than in plain prose.

He has also spoken in prose. To a friend, not long before his death, he said: "Death, death! It is this harping on death I despise so much, — this idle and often cowardly as well as ignorant harping! Why should we not change like everything else? In fiction, in poetry, French as well as English, and, I am told, in American art and literature, the shadow of death — call it what you will, despair, negation, indifference — is upon us. But what fools who talk thus! Why, *amico mio*, you know as well as I that death is life, just as our daily, our momentarily, dying body is none the less alive and ever recruiting new forces of existence. Without death, which is our crape-like churchyardy word for change, for growth, there could be no prolongation of that which we call life. Pshaw! it is foolish to argue upon such a thing even. For myself, I deny death as an end of anything. Never say of me that I am dead."

At an earlier period, and to another friend, he said: "If there is anything I hold to, it is *that:* why, I know I shall meet my dearest friends again!"

In 1876 a lady who believed herself to be dying wrote to the poet to thank him for the help she had found in his poems, especially *Rabbi Ben Ezra* and *Abt Vogler;* and he sent her a reply which indicates how strong was his faith: "It would ill become me to waste a word on my own feelings, except inasmuch as they can be common to us both, in such a situation as you describe yours to be, and which, by sympathy, I can make mine by the anticipation of a few years at most. It is a great thing, the greatest, that a human being should have passed the probation of life, and

sum up its experience in a witness to the power and love of God. I dare congratulate you. All the help I can offer, in my poor degree, is the assurance that I see ever more reason to hold by the same hope — and that by no means in ignorance of what has been advanced to the contrary; and for your sake I would wish it to be true that I had so much of genius as to permit the testimony of an especially privileged insight to come in aid of the ordinary argument. For I know I, myself, have been aware of the communication of something more subtle than a ratiocinative process, when the convictions of genius have thrilled my soul to its depths, as when Napoleon, shutting up the New Testament, said of Christ: 'Do you know that I am an understander of men? Well, He was no man! (*Savez-vous que je me connais en hommes? Eh bien, celui-la ne fut pas un homme!*)' Or as when Charles Lamb, in a gay fancy with some friends, as to how he and they would feel if the greatest of the dead were to appear suddenly in flesh and blood once more, on the final suggestion, 'And if Christ entered this room?' changed his manner at once, and stuttered out, as his manner was when moved, 'You see, if Shakespeare entered we should all rise; if *He* appeared we must kneel.' Or, not to multiply instances, as when Dante wrote what I will transcribe from my wife's Testament, wherein I recorded it fourteen years ago, 'Thus I believe, thus I affirm, thus I am certain it is, that from this life I shall pass to another better, there, where that lady lives of whom my soul was enamored.'"

Reference is made to Mrs. Browning at the end of the poem, which expresses the depth of his conviction that he would pass to that life where lives the lady of whom his soul was enamored.

See Corson, Rolfe, and Kingsland. This poem was set to music by C.V. Stanford; London, Stanley, Lucas & Webber.

Protus. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

This poem is wholly imaginary, but it accurately describes the rapid changes in rulers in the later Roman Empire. The bust of the "baby-face with violets in the hair" is an imaginary one.

Protus. The Tyrant to whom Cleon, in the poem with that title, addresses his letter on the imperfections of life.

Queen, The. In *In a Balcony*, a woman of middle age, who loves Norbert, the lover of Constance. Although married, the Queen proposes to secure a divorce, and then to wed Norbert. When she learns that he loves and will only wed Constance her anger is great; and under its ominous shadow this fragmentary drama closes.

Rabbi ben Ezra. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

Rabbi ben Ezra is called by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* Abenezra or Ibn Ezra, and also Abenare or Evenare; and it says his real name was Abraham ben Meir ben Ezra. According to Friedländer his family name was Ibn Ezra, and his surname Abraham. The same authority says his father's name was Meir Ibn Ezra. Abraham Ibn Ezra was born in Toledo, then a city of more intellectual life than any other in Europe, at the end of the eleventh century, different authorities giving the year as 1092 and 1093. His family was poor, and he passed through many hardships in youth. He studied hard, having a genius for learning, and he found many opportunities for acquiring knowledge in the city of his birth. He had excellent teachers, and books were at hand. He early showed a taste for poetry, and he wrote both liturgical and secular poems. In a poem written in later life he says: —

> "In former days, when I was young,
> I poured forth my soul in song;
> For fain would I, with poesy's jewels
> Adorn my own, my Hebrew nation."

His learning drew to him pupils from far and near, who propounded to him questions on a great variety of subjects. Among his intimate friends was the principal Hebrew poet of the Middle Ages, Jehudah Hallevi. Tradition says that Ibn Ezra was the son-in-law of Hallevi, and tells a romantic tale of how the daughter was won. Friedländer tells this story in his introduction to Ibn Ezra's *Commentary on Isaiah:* and it is somewhat differently related in a paper on Hallevi in the *Papers of the Society of Hebrew Literature*, for 1886.

Ibn Ezra evidently had no gift for prospering in worldly matters; he was too much the student. He found it difficult to provide for his family and to establish a home. He was often discouraged and poured out his grief in poetry;

but he was also full of trust in God, strong in love of his people, witty, lively, and alert in mind. The unsettled condition of affairs in Toledo, owing to the contests between Moors and Christians, caused him to leave that city. He went with his son Isaac to Damascus, where they parted; but the Holy Land was probably the main object of his Eastern travels. Little is definitely known of his travels, but he seems to have been in Egypt, Arabia, possibly even Persia and India. He also traveled in France, Italy, and England, many of his works having been produced on his journeys through those countries. Friedländer says, "It would seem that he came to Africa together with Rabbi Jehudah Hallevi, when the latter was on his way to the Holy Land. An anecdote represents him as visiting Egypt at the time when the great philosopher Maimonides was living there. . . . But little is said in his commentaries on the Bible of his observations and investigations in Africa. He gives some interesting information about the Nile, the position of Raamses, the Red Sea, etc. In Arabia he tasted the so-called manna, and convinced himself by experiments that it was quite different from that heavenly manna which God gave the Israelites during their wanderings through the Arabian desert. While staying in Tiberias in Palestine, he devoted himself to the study of old manuscripts of the Bible, and had conferences with the elders of the congregation on that subject. Tiberias was certainly not the only town in Palestine which he visited, but it is doubtful whether he ventured upon entering the Holy City, which at the time when a Christian sovereign ruled in it would not offer to the Jewish pilgrim any protection or safety. There are some critics, both of the old and modern school, who are of the opinion that Ibn Ezra never was in Jerusalem, because his remarks touching its topography are based on imagination rather than on personal investigation, and appear to be in direct opposition to the results of modern scientific researches. . . .

"Even from the scanty remarks which we find in his commentaries, we may conclude how attentively he observed everything in the countries through which he traveled. He studied everywhere the character and customs of the people, their dress, and food. . . . His remarks on the Nile, on the Mediterranean, the difference of time between London or

other places and Jerusalem, and similar interesting observations, show that he made himself well acquainted with the physical, mathematical, and political geography of the various countries through which he passed. It need hardly be said, that the condition of the Jews, the opinion and knowledge which other people had of his brethren, were matters of great interest to Ibn Ezra. A few remarks on that point tell us how strange and sorrowful the results of his researches are, and how much he himself must have suffered as a Jewish traveler.

"A curious anecdote is related in connection with his travels. It is said, that once when he was on board a vessel with some of his pupils, a raging storm compelled the captain to throw every ninth man overboard; by means of an algebraical formula, which his mathematical knowledge had discovered, he placed himself and his party in such a position that the fatal number never reached one of them; but neither the plan of the captain nor the counter-plot of Ibn Ezra is sufficiently known."

Ibn Ezra found a home for some years in Italy, and he lived in Rome, Lucca, Mantua, and Salerno. Rome disappointed him with the ignorance of its inhabitants and the incapacity of the pope. He devoted himself to his studies and to literary production for some months in that city, his commentaries on the Bible being commenced there. His books on Ecclesiastes and Job were published while he was there, and were well received by his people. Friedländer says, "He worthily used the ample opportunities given in these works for the display of his talents, experience, and knowledge. His style and mode of witticism, his principles and arguments, must have been entirely new to his brethren in Italy, where the study of the Talmud and Midrash, and the style of Kalir's poetry, seems to have obtained the victory over the exegetical, grammatical, philosophical, and poetical works of the Spanish school. We are not informed how far he succeeded in enlisting among the Italian Jewish communities the attention and respect due to these branches of learning; but this is certain, that he found friends and admirers, who eagerly listened to his instruction, and gladly provided for his livelihood."

In Lucca Ibn Ezra remained for a longer period, and he

called it his residence. There he wrote on astronomy and mathematics, and there he produced his commentary on Isaiah. A severe illness came upon him, which caused him to make a vow that if he recovered he would write a commentary on the Pentateuch. This work he began at the age of sixty-four, but he completed it, and then rewrote it. This commentary is regarded as the most original and learned of all his writings.

After this he visited England and lived for some time in London. His fame had preceded him, and he was welcomed by his brethren. While in London he wrote a pamphlet on the study of the Law and the nature of the Divine Commandments, and another on the time when the Sabbath day commences. The first of these works was written for "a certain Salomon," who is described by him as being "a man of truth, upright, and God-fearing." After leaving London he returned to France, where he had been for some time previous to his visit to England; and there he continued his literary labors. In the south of France, at Bezières and Rhodez, he lived honored and respected by his people; and under these happy auspices his commentaries were continued. Ibn Ezra died at the age of seventy-five. One authority says he died at Rome, Jan. 23, 1167; but the *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives the date as 1168. Friedländer says he died in Kalahorra, on the frontier of Navarre, as some report, or in Rome according to other authorities.

Through all the years of his wanderings he was very busy as a writer, gaining a wide fame as a theologian, philosopher, physician, astronomer, mathematician, and poet. He wrote a work on astronomy, another on the Talmud, and he was especially able as a writer on Hebrew grammar. His great work was a series of Commentaries on the Old Testament, including all its books, though a few of these do not now exist. The writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says his "commentaries are acknowledged to be of great value; he was the first who raised Biblical exegesis to the rank of a science, interpreting the text according to its literal sense, and illustrating it from cognate languages." He usually wrote in the Jewish or vulgar dialect of the Hebrew, but he was familiar with the classical Hebrew, as well as

with Aramaic and Arabic. His style was elegant, but concise, occasionally epigrammatic, and sometimes obscure. He was a strong thinker, his works show a philosophical turn of mind; and he was intimate with the natural sciences, as they were taught in his day, and especially among the Moors and Arabs. He had a leaning towards astrology, as nearly all men interested in physical science then had, for astronomy was then but another name for astrology; but he was an acute and inquiring observer. He was in the habit, when on his travels, of lecturing at the places where he stopped on grammar, theology, astronomy, and other subjects. In England Joseph Mandeville was in this way one of his pupils.

Ibn Ezra found in Platonism, as modified first by the Neo-Platonists and then by the Arabian thinkers, the basis of his philosophy. He believed that the universe contains an ideal element, which never passes away; and also a material element, which is subject to constant change and destruction. What to Plato was of the nature of reason or mental activity was to Ibn Ezra of the nature of spiritual existences. To him the ideals were purely spiritual, invisible, everlasting; also they occupy the heaven of heavens, and are the models after which the universe is formed. In his cosmology these ideals or angelic creatures create the universe and govern it, as the deputies of God. Friedländer says that to Ibn Ezra "the ideals bear a strong resemblance to the fixed, eternal laws of nature, by which the Cosmos is regulated; but on the other hand they seem to participate in the properties of the Biblical angels, and to be charged with executing the decrees of the Almighty." God, the ideals, and the material world, are related to each other as genera, species and individua. In this way he held to the immanence of God, for God creates and sustains all things.

Man is a microcosm, created in the image of God, and solely by the will of the Almighty. This makes man unlike all other created beings, for he owes his supremacy to the soul, to his being of like nature with God. Man has a double nature; he is spiritual and he is material. As a spiritual being he has free will; as a material being he has desire, lust, and passion. Will is beset with many material

temptations, but through its freedom it is able to overcome them. The following summary of Ibn Ezra's teachings about the soul will be of interest in connection with Browning's poem: "In the presence of the claims of the divine and immortal element of our existence, the well-being of the earthly and mortal body cannot be the leading object of all our thoughts and actions. The soul, only a stranger and prisoner in the body, filled with a burning desire to return home to its heavenly abode, certainly demands our principal attention. If we succeed in securing for the soul its perfection and happiness, these will be enjoyed forever; if we fail, the loss is much more to be deplored than the forfeited well-being of the body.

"The greatest happiness of the soul is said to consist in the highest and most perfect knowledge of God. The soul descends from heaven as a *tabula rasa*, a blank, which is to be filled up with the knowledge gathered here on earth during a sojourn in the body. On the attainment of this object the soul's true happiness depends; in case of success, the soul is received into the chorus of angels which surround the throne of the Almighty and delight in the splendor of his everlasting glory.

"The power of determining the future of the soul is entirely in the will of man. It must therefore be man's primary duty to do everything by which his will may be influenced in favor of his heavenly soul. . . . The knowledge of God cannot be attained by direct means; it can only indirectly be approached by the study of his works in the universe, and especially in man, the microcosm. By knowing ourselves, by considering how the invisible, incorporeal, immortal soul fills and governs the whole visible, mutable body, we are by analogy enabled to conceive the idea of an invisible, eternal Being, who fills and governs the whole universe. The investigation of the origin, nature, and aim of the soul is therefore indispensable to all who wish to find the right path of life. . . .

"It is not so much *the soul* of the righteous that is to be everlasting, as — to use the figure of the tabula rasa applied to the original state of the soul — *the divine writing inscribed thereon*, that is to say, the knowledge acquired by the soul during its connection with the body. . . . So long as

the mind is on its road to perfection, gathering more and more knowledge, subject and object are not identical; but when it arrives at the highest degree of perfection, it has acquired that truth which includes all elements of human knowledge. The soul is then like God, who in perceiving anything, is the subject which perceives, the object perceived, and the perception itself. When the mental faculties of man reach this degree of perfection, they are no longer a quality or action of the soul, they are the soul itself, in a new form; they are like an angel, 'cleaving unto the Most High,' and participate, to some extent at least, in his divine power. . . . In the same way the soul which has acquired a true knowledge of the Eternal, is believed to share in his eternity, and to receive the reward which no eye except that of the Eternal ever saw, but which 'he will bestow on those who wait on him.'"

Dr. M. Friedländer has devoted five volumes to an exposition of the writings of Ibn Ezra, and these are published for The Society of Hebrew Literature, by Trübner & Co., London. The first series of these volumes consists of three works. The first contains *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, edited from MSS., and translated, with notes, introduction, and indexes. The introduction contains the biography which has been condensed above. The second volume contains the Anglican version of the book of the Prophet Isaiah emended according to the commentary of Ibn Ezra. The third volume contains the Hebrew text of the commentary on Isaiah, edited according to manuscripts. The second series consists of two volumes. The first volume contains an account of the philosophy of Ibn Ezra, including his cosmogony, anthropology, and theology; also an essay on the writings of Ibn Ezra, describing his commentaries, where manuscripts of them may be found, the various editions which have been printed, and much other rare bibliographical information. It concludes with unedited fragments of Ibn Ezra's commentaries, in Hebrew. The second volume of this series treats of the connection of Ibn Ezra's system of philosophy with that of his predecessors and immediate successors.

Many of the manuscripts of Ibn Ezra's writings are contained in English libraries. His commentaries have been

frequently edited and quoted from by Biblical students among the Hebrews. His commentary on Lamentations was translated into English in 1615, that on Ruth in 1703, and that on *Shir hashshirim* by H. J. Mathews, London, 1874.

The *potter's wheel* of l. 26 is from Isaiah lxiv. 8 and Jeremiah xviii. 2–6. Francis Quarles, in his *Emblems*, uses the same metaphor: —

> "Eternal Potter, whose blest hands did lay
> My coarse foundation from a sod of clay,
> Thou know'st my slender vessel 's apt to break:
> Oh, mend what Thou hast made, what I have broke;
> Look, look, with gentle eyes, and in Thy day
> Of vengeance, Lord, remember I am clay."

See Berdoe's *Browning's Message to his Time; Poet-Lore*, 1 : 57; Rolfe's *Select Poems*, and Corson's *Introduction*. Under the title *Grow Old Along with Me* the first part of this poem has been set to music by Georgiana Schuyler; New York, G. Schirmer.

René Gentilhomme. The first of the poets in *Two Poets of Croisic*, which see.

Red Cotton Night-Cap Country, or Turf and Towers. Published by Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1873; at the end the poem is dated "January 23, 1873." Pages, i.–vi., 1–282. Dedicated "To Miss Thackeray," who has since become Mrs. Richmond Ritchie.

Mrs. Orr thus describes the manner in which the poem came to have its name: "The narrative is addressed to Miss Annie Thackeray [the novelist, and daughter of W. M. Thackeray]; and its supposed occasion is that of a meeting which took place at St. Rambert — actually St. Aubin — between her and Mr. Browning, in the summer of 1872. She had laughingly called the district "White Cotton Night-Cap Country," from its sleepy appearance, and the universal white cap of even its male inhabitants. Mr. Browning, being acquainted with the tragedy of Clairvaux [which gave origin to the poem], thought *Red* Cotton Night-Cap Country would be more appropriate; and adopted it for his story, as Miss Thackeray had adopted hers for one which she promised to write."

The story told in the poem is one of actual occurrence,

the particulars of which came to the knowledge of Browning during the summer of 1872, a part of which he spent in that part of Normandy which lies south of the mouth of the Seine, in the province of Calvados. The chief actor in this bit of real life was one Antoine Mellerio, a Parisian jeweler. He formed an illicit connection with Anna de Beaupré; and between them there grew up a very strong and persistent affection. He chose to live outside Paris rather than abandon her, and became a resident of St. Aubin. This illicit relation gradually unfolded itself into the tragedy which is described by Browning, ending with the suicide of Mellerio.

In the poem as written the names of the actors and places were correctly given, but when the poem was being revised in proof-sheets they were changed from prudential reasons, because the last act in the tragedy occurred only a brief period prior to the writing of the poem.

Browning submitted the proof-sheets of the poem to his friend Lord Coleridge, then the English Attorney-General, afterwards Chief Justice, who thought that a case of libel might lie for what was said, however improbable such action might be. He accordingly changed the names to fictitious ones. It was the year following this, and the publication of the poem, that the appeal against the judgment in favor of the will of Mellerio was dismissed, and the case finally set at rest in harmony with the conclusion reached by the poet.

In the second edition of her *Hand-Book* Mrs. Orr gives the correct names, as furnished to her by Browning himself. These names will be found on the following pages of the Riverside edition of 1889: —

1. The Firm Miranda = Mellerio Brothers.

2. St. Rambert = St. Aubin. Joyeux, Joyous-Gard = Lion, Lionesse.

3. Vire = Caen.

9. St. Rambertese = St. Aubinese.

10. Londres = Douvres.

11. London = Dover. La Roche = Courcelle. Monlieu = Bernières. Villeneuve = Langrune. Pons = Luc. La Ravissante = La Délivrande.

12. Raimbaux = Bayeux. Morillon = Hugonin. Mirecourt = Bonnechose.

13. New York = Madrid.

15. Clairvaux = Taillev.lle. Gonthier = Bény. Rousseau = Voltaire. Léonce = Antoine.

19. Of "Firm Miranda, London and New York" = "Mellerio Brothers"; Meller, people say.

28. Rare Vissante = Dell Yvrande. Aldabert = Regnobert. Eldobert = Ragnobert. Mailleville = Beaudoin. Chaumont = Quelen. Vertgalant = Talleyrand.

31. Ravissantish = Délivrandish.

35. Clara de Milletleurs = Anna de Beaupré. Coliseum Street = Miromesnil Street.

38. Steiner = Mayer. Commercy = Larocy. Sierck = Metz.

39. Muhlhausen = Debacker. Carlino Centofanti = Miranda di Mongino.

42. Portugal = Italy.

47. Vaillant = Mériel.

52. Thirty-three = Twenty-five.

53. Beaumont = Pasquier.

58. Sceaux = Garges.

66. The "guide" recommended to Miranda was M. Joseph Milsand, who was always at St. Aubin during the bathing season, and who was an old friend of Browning's.

70. Luc de la Maison Rouge = Jean de la Becquetière. Claise = Vire. Maude = Anne.

71. Dionysius = Eliezer. Scholastica = Elizabeth.

74. Twentieth = Thirteenth.

83. Fricquot = Picot.

In the edition of 1888 two of the names have been changed to the correct ones. On page 15 Madrilene was *Turinese* in the first edition. On page 43 Gustave was *Alfred* in the first edition.

The conflict in the mind of Antoine Mellerio between illicit love and Ultramontane Christianity is a part of the actual history which is the basis of the poem. In a measure the poem may be regarded as a satire on the exaggerated religion then so much in vogue in France, which worshiped images, made pilgrimages, and expected miracles. What is ascribed to Miranda in this direction applies in a large degree to that remarkable movement towards mediævalism in religion.

The home of Mellerio is St. Aubin, a small bathing village in Calvados. Henry Blackburn, in his *Normandy Picturesque*, says that "Nine or ten minor sea-bathing places are situated north of Caen and Bayeux, in the following order: Lion, Luc, Langrune, St. Aubin, Courseulles, Aramanches, Aruelles, Vurville, and Grandcamp, where accommodation is more or less limited, and board and lodging does not cost more than seven or eight francs a day in the season. They are generally spoken of in the French guide-books as 'fit only for fathers of families.' St. Aubin, about twelve miles from Caen, is one of the best."

Mrs. Katherine S. Macquoid's *Through Normandy* describes several of the places mentioned in the poem. "Diligences go several times a day [from Caen] to Courseulles and Doûvres — where there is a very remarkable church, and also close by the chapel of La Délivrande — to Bernières, St. Aubin, Lion, Langrune, Trouville, Villers, Houlgate, Beuzeval, Cabourg-sur-Dives; and many Caennais go out to one or other of the smaller of these watering-places several times in the week for bathing. . . .

"There are some very interesting Romanesque churches in the small watering-places in the neighborhood of Caen. At Luc there is a nave of the twelfth century, and at Lion-sur-Mer a remarkable and lofty tower of the same date. At Lion, too, there is a charming chateau of the Renaissance period: it is very elegant, with its tall slated roof and picturesque *tourelles*, its bold staircase tower, and lofty chimneys.

"The famous pilgrimage church of La Délivrande, at Doûvres [a little to the north of Caen], called *Notre Dame de la Délivrande*, first built in the twelfth century, has been mostly rebuilt, but there is a little of the old work left in the arcades north and west. A quaint little book, dated 1642, says that 'Robert Cenalis, Bishop of Avranches, affirms that the first chapel of Délivrande was built by St. Regnobert, the disciple and successor of St. Exupère, the first Bishop of Bayeux, to which city he was also the apostle, being sent there by his master, St. Clement, disciple and contemporary of St. Peter. But during the reign of Louis I., King of France, Norman barbarians and idolaters came from Norway, accompanied by the Danes, and

made a descent into Gaul in the year 830, and after this made several other inroads, ravaging all Neustria. They profaned and burned all churches. . . .

"'Now the image of Notre-Dame, which was in the chapel of La Délivrande, remained buried under the ruins of the said chapel about two hundred years, that is to say, from the year 830 till the time of William II. of this name, who began to govern at the beginning of the eleventh century.

"'There lived at that time a lord named Baldwin, Count of the Bessin [Caen, Bayeux, and St. Lo], who held his barony of Doûvres of the Bishop of Bayeux, the shepherd of which lord perceived that one of his rams often retired from the flock and ran to a place near the pasture, there with its foot and its horns struck and scraped the earth, and then, being tired, lay down on the place where is now the image of the Virgin in the chapel of the Délivrande. This ram never ate, and yet it was the fattest of the flock. The count, thinking that this was a warning sent from heaven, went to the spot, together with the nobility, with a holy hermit, and with a great crowd of people who ran thither from surrounding places.

"'He commanded that the trench which the ram had begun to make should be laid bare, and in it was found the image of Notre-Dame, more than eight hundred years old. This image was carried in solemn procession with universal joy by all the people into the church of Doûvres, but was soon taken back by an angel to the place where it had been found. Then the Count, understanding the Divine will, founded and caused to be built on the spot the chapel, which now exists, and gave it to messieurs of Bayeux.'

"This little book goes on to narrate the miraculous cures wrought by Notre-Dame de la Délivrande; also gives reasons for the presence of images in churches — reasons why they are venerable and how they are to be regarded — reasons why they are to be kissed and touched with devotion — reasons for pilgrimages, etc.

"La Délivrande is still a favorite shrine for pilgrimages, and the church is filled with votive offerings and tablets.

"At Langrune there is an interesting church of the thirteenth century, with a lovely tapering spire; and near Bernières there is a very curious sunken road."

Caen is a prosperous city in the western part of Normandy, the capital of the department of Calvados. It is a college town, and much resembles Oxford.

Blackburn's *Normandy Picturesque*, Macquoid's *Through Normandy*, and Cassell's *Normandy* will give farther information as to the region described in the poem. It is one of the most interesting localities in France. Mrs. Macquoid gives many pages to the places mentioned in the poem, and describes the country with much minuteness.

See Alexander. Also *The Spectator*, May, 1873; *Penn Monthly*, 4 : 657; *The Nation*, 17 : 116; *The Contemporary Review*, Mrs. Orr, 22 : 87; *The Athenæum*, May 10, 1873.

Rephan. *Asolando*, 1889. See Appendix.

Respectability. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

"These two unconventional Bohemian lovers," says Professor Corson, "strolling together at night, at their own sweet will, see down the court along which they are strolling, three lampions flare, which indicate some big place or other where the respectables do congregate; and the woman says to the companion, with a humorous sarcasm, Put forward your best foot! that is, we must be very correct passing along here in this brilliant light. By the lovers are evidently meant George Sand (the speaker) and Jules Sandeau, with whom she lived in Paris, after she left her husband, M. Dudevant. They took just such unconventional night-strolls together, in the streets of Paris."

Nettleship's *Robert Browning: Essays and Thoughts*, gives an interesting interpretation.

Return of the Druses, The. A Tragedy. Written in 1840, in five days, and in manuscript was at first named "Mansoor the Hierophant." *Bells and Pomegranates*, number four, 1843. As first published the title was thus given: *The Return of the Druses. A Tragedy, in Five Acts. By Robert Browning. Author of "Paracelsus."* *Time 14—. Poetical Works*, 1863, in second volume, with *Tragedies and Other Plays*. The action of the play occupies but one day.

The Druses are a tribe or religious sect who inhabit the Lebanon, Syria, to the northward of Palestine. They show

a remarkable amalgamation of races — Persian, Arab, Koord, and perhaps Crusader, together with other admixtures. Their religion is also a combination of many faiths, including Mohammedanism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Gnosticism.

The Druse religion originated with Hakem Biamr Allah, or Bemrillah, the sixth Fatimite Caliph of Egypt. He was a cruel man, and given to deeds of the most fanatical character. He was of a persecuting nature, opposed to intemperance and licentiousness, and full of zeal for religious reformation. When he had reigned twenty-one years, in the year 407 of the Hegira, 1016 of the Christian era, he announced himself as the tenth incarnation of the Spirit of God. Associated with him in the promulgation of the new faith were Hamzé and Darazi, Mohammedan mystics, who are thought by some writers to have been the real founders of the Druse religion. Bemrillah gave up his old religion, proclaimed toleration, and began to disseminate the new doctrines. Darazi set forth the Druse doctrines in the mosque at Cairo, with all the power of the Caliph's sanction and influence, but the people nearly mobbed him. The faith was then secretly promulgated in Cairo, and many became converts. Hamzé, who was the vizier of Bemrillah, zealously labored in its behalf, and with success. He developed the doctrinal and ritualistic features of the new faith, and combined with its Mohammedan teachings many doctrines from Moses, the Gospels, and the Sufi allegories.

In the meantime, Darazi was sent by Bemrillah to the Lebanon, where he established the faith. It is said he gave his name to the Druse people, but another origin for the word is given by some writers. He attempted to act for himself, as an independent prophet, but the people did not favor this, and he perished in a religious quarrel.

Bemrillah was bitterly opposed in Cairo by those who did not accept him as an incarnation of God, a doctrine especially offensive to the Mohammedans. He was probably secretly assassinated; at least, he suddenly disappeared, and no trace of him could be found. His disappearance takes a prominent place in the Druse conception of the incarnation. After his death the new faith made no headway in Egypt, and was soon wholly transferred to the Lebanon.

There it has maintained itself with a remarkable persistence ever since. The Druse people now number between fifty thousand and one hundred thousand people, and perhaps have never exceeded the latter number. They are an independent nation, speaking the Arabic language, and have developed an extensive literature of their own, mostly religious and theological. Almost nothing was known about them until their quarrel with the Maronites in 1843, which was again renewed in 1860. The following summary of the Druse faith is given by Colonel Churchill in the volume which he devotes to that people: —

"To acknowledge one only God, without endeavoring to penetrate the nature of his being and attributes, (indeed the Druses are so far from admitting attributes in God, that his Intelligence, his Will, his Justice, his Word, are, in their system, created beings and ministers of God, his first productions;) to confess that he can neither be comprehended by the senses nor described by language; to believe that the Divinity has made itself manifest to men, at different epochs, in the human form, without partaking of human weakness and frailty; and that the Divinity appeared for the last time, in the fifth century of the Hegira of Mohammed, under the figure of Hakem-biamar Allah, and that, after that, no other manifestation is to be expected; that Hakem disappeared in the year 411 of the Hegira, or 1021 A. D., to prove the faith of his servants, and to give occasion for the falling off of apostates, who had only embraced the true religion from worldly motives; that he will reappear in due time in glory and majesty, to triumph over all his enemies, to extend his empire over the whole earth, and to give the kingdom to his faithful worshipers.

"To believe the Universal Intelligence is the first of God's creations, — the only direct and immediate production of his Almighty power; that he has appeared on earth simultaneously with each manifestation of the Divinity; and that, lastly, in the time of Hakem, he took the figure of Hamzé, the son of Ali, the son of Ahmed; that it is by his ministry and agency that all things have been produced; that he alone possesses the knowledge of all truths; that he is the first Minister of the true religion; that it is he who communicates, directly or indirectly, to other ministers, and

to simple believers, but in different degrees and proportions, the knowledge and the grace which he receives immediately from the Divinity, and of which he is the sole medium; that he alone has direct access to the Deity, standing as Mediator between the Supreme Being and the great family of mankind.

"To acknowledge that Hamzé it is to whom Hakem will intrust his sword, in the last day, to smite all his adversaries, to make his religion triumphant, and to distribute rewards and punishments to every one according to his deserts; to know the other ministers of the Unitarian religion, and the rank and offices which belong to each of them individually, and to render them that obedience and submission which is due.

"To confess that all souls were created by the Universal Intelligence; that the number of human beings is always the same, — neither increasing nor decreasing; but that souls pass from one body to another; that they rise and become perfected in excellence, or deteriorate and become lost and degraded, according to their love and attachment to the truth, or their neglect and disregard of it; to practice the seven commandments which the religion of Hamzé imposes on his followers, and more especially those which inculcate a strict regard to truth in words, charity towards the brethren, entire renunciation of all former modes of belief, and complete and unreserved submission to the will of God.

"And, finally, to confess that all preceding religions whatever were but types, more or less complete, of the only true religion, — all their legal and ceremonial precepts and injunctions, but allegories; and that the revelation of the true religion necessarily induces the complete abolition of all anterior ones. Such is an abridgment of the principal points of belief laid down in the religion of the Druses, of which Hamzé is the founder, and the followers of which are called Unitarians."

The doctrine of incarnation is a cardinal one with the Druses, and they teach that ten such manifestations have appeared. These have been Ali, Albar, Alya, Moill, Kaim, Moezz, Aziz, Abou Zechariah, Mansour, and Hakem; but it is Hakem who has taken all these forms. At the end of things he will come again to conquer the world and to

establish the Druse faith. "These personifications," says Churchill, "are called apparitions, joined to the epithets Divine, Human, Royal, Celestial, and Sublime; for in the style of the Druses, the kingdom is the sublime doctrine of the Unitarian religion, the same as in the Gospel the kingdom of heaven is the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and the children of the kingdom the disciples of that doctrine. The human figures under which the Lord appeared are sometimes called 'places and envelopes,' but it is essential to observe, that these figures must not be confounded with the Humanity of the Lord, which amidst all these changes is always the same, and inseparably participates in all the majesty and immutability of the Divinity.

"The idea of the Druses is, that the Lord's Humanity is coeval with his Divinity; and though for a time it was clothed upon with the flesh, its incomprehensible and ineffable essence remained ever the same; and thus, if a Druse Ockal be asked whether he believes that God became flesh, he scouts the idea as impious and absurd, because in his mind he draws this nice distinction, that God did not become flesh, but assumed the veil of the flesh, in the same way as a man putting on a robe does not become the robe."

Under the name of "Day of Resurrection" the Druses teach that a time will come when their faith will be publicly manifested in the sight of all men, that all apostates and unbelievers will be punished, and that they will enter into glorious reward. Hakem will then enter upon a period of triumph, when he will reign on the earth, and the Saints will share in his kingdom. It is thought he will first appear in China, but his triumph will be complete throughout the earth. In this new order of things Hakem will appear as the Lord God, and Hamzé will be manifested as his Messiah or Word. A Druse book, as quoted by Churchill, thus describes the coming of Hakem: —

"As for us, we belong to the Lord, we put all our trust in him, we keep ourselves firmly and immovably attached to the Messiah (Hamzé), to be protected against the terrors of that day, which the tongue must fail to describe; of that day when our hearts and our eyes will receive their perfect recompense; when our Lord Hakem will reveal himself to his creatures, in a creature's form; of that day when all

spirits and souls will tremble for fear, and when our Lord will show himself in his Glorified Humanity in great glory, surrounded by an innumerable company of angels and archangels, and will cause his Unity to be adored. All the ends of the earth shall be submitted to him; all heads shall bow in humble submission before him; all created substances shall confess that he is Lord God, most holy, unto whom belong Might, Majesty and Dominion, for ever and ever! Then a voice shall cry, To whom belongs the kingdom? and it shall be answered, It belongs to Hakem, who can neither slumber nor sleep. The balances will be set, all actions shall be judged, all resources shall be taken away from liars and impostors; the evil and shameful things which were hidden shall be brought to light and exposed before all eyes, and the true Messiah will render to each soul the reward of its deeds. The upright and just will enter into joy and felicity, as the price of their faith. Then unbelievers will repent of the calumnies which they have uttered against the Saints. For the Almighty power shall have been made visible; Truth shall have been manifested; discernment effected amongst men; the days of trial and tribulation shall have ended; and those who believed shall hasten to enter into the Sanctuary of everlasting joy, peace, and felicity."

None of the works consulted indicate that the Druses were ever at any time located on an islet of the southern Sporades, or that the faith has ever been accepted outside of Egypt, Arabia, and Syria. The fierce conflict in 1843 between the Druses and the Maronites doubtless led to the writing of this drama.

The following works are authorities on the Druses and their religion: *Druses of the Lebanon*, G. W. Chasseaud; *Recollections of the Druses of Lebanon, and Notes on their Religion*, H. H. M. Herbert, Earl of Caernarvon; *Mount Lebanon: a Ten Years' Residence*, Colonel C. H. Churchill; *Researches into the Religions of Syria*, Rev. John Wortabet; *La Théoganie des Druses*, H. Guys; *Exposé de la Réligion des Druses*, Silvestre de Sacy. It is quite probable Browning drew from the last work for his knowledge of the Druses, as it was published in 1828. The best and fullest exposition in English of the religion of the

Druses is contained in the second volume of Colonel Churchill's work, which is wholly devoted to their doctrines, rites, and morality. A more recent work is that by the Earl of Caernarvon.

See Alexander. In his *Stories from Robert Browning*, Mr. F. M. Holland gives a brief account of the Druses, and turns the drama into a prose story. In Miss Burt's *Browning's Women* Anael is discussed in the chapter headed "The Picture of Faith."

Reverie. *Asolando*, 1889.

Ring and the Book, The. Published in London by Smith, Elder & Co., with the author's name given as "Robert Browning, M. A., Honorary Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford." Vol. I., November, 1868; Vol. II., December, 1868; Vol. III., January, 1869; Vol. IV., February, 1869. Each volume contained three books.

A book found in Florence was the basis of this poem. From personal information furnished by the poet, and from a careful study of the book from which Browning drew his information, Mrs. Orr wrote her account of the murder trial which this poem describes. Her *Hand-Book* must be drawn upon because of its accuracy, and because it gives details important to an understanding of the poem, and not elsewhere obtainable.

"Mr. Browning was strolling one day through a square in Florence, the Piazza San Lorenzo, which is a standing market for old clothes, old furniture, and old curiosities of every kind, when a parchment-covered book attracted his eye, from amidst the artistic or nondescript rubbish of one of the stalls. It was the record of a murder which had taken place in Rome, and bore inside it an inscription [in Latin] which Mr. Browning thus transcribes [page 3]: —

> 'A Roman Murder-case:
> Position of the entire criminal cause
> Of Guido Franceschini, nobleman,
> With certain Four the cut-throats in his pay,
> Tried, all five, and found guilty and put to death
> By heading or hanging as befitted ranks,
> At Rome on February Twenty-Two,
> Since our salvation Sixteen Ninety-Eight:
> Wherein it is disputed if, and when,
> Husbands may kill adulterous wives, yet 'scape
> The customary forfeit.'

"The book proved, on examination, to contain the whole history of the case, as carried on in writing, after the fashion of those days: pleadings and counter-pleadings, the depositions of defendants and witnesses; manuscript letters announcing the execution of the murderer, and the 'instrument of the Definitive Sentence' which established the perfect innocence of the murdered wife: these various documents having been collected and bound together by some person interested in the trial, possibly the very Cencini, friend of the Franceschini family, to whom the manuscript letters are addressed. Mr. Browning bought the whole for the value of eightpence, and it became the raw material of what appeared four years later as *The Ring and the Book*.

"This name is explained as follows: The story of the Franceschini case, as Mr. Browning relates it, forms a circle of evidence to its one central truth; and this circle was constructed in the manner in which the worker in Etruscan gold prepares the ornamental circlet which will be worn as a ring. The pure metal is too soft to bear hammer or file; it must be mixed with alloy to gain the necessary power of resistance. The ring once formed and embossed, the alloy is disengaged, and a pure gold ornament remains. Mr. Browning's material was also inadequate to his purpose, though from a different cause. It was too *hard*. It was 'pure crude fact,' secreted from the fluid being of the men and women whose experience it had formed. In its existing state it would have broken up under the artistic attempt to weld and round it. He supplied an alloy, the alloy of fancy, or — as he also calls it — of one fact more: this fact being the echo of those past existences awakened within his own. He breathed into the dead record the breath of his own life; and when his ring of evidence had re-formed, first in elastic then in solid strength, here delicately incised, there broadly stamped with human thought and passion, he could cast fancy aside, and bid his readers recognize in what he set before them unadulterated human truth.

"All this was not effected at once. The separate scenes of the Franceschini tragedy sprang to life in Mr. Browning's imagination within a few hours of his reading the book. He saw them reënacted from his terrace at Casa Guidi on

a sultry summer night — every place and person projected, as it seemed, against the thundery sky — but his mind did not yet weave them into a whole. The drama lay by him and in him till the unconscious inspiration was complete; and then, one day in London, he felt what he thus describes [page 18]: —

> 'A spirit laughs and leaps through every limb,
> And lights my eye, and lifts me by the hair,
> Letting me have my will again with these,'

and *The Ring and the Book* was born. All this is told in an introductory chapter, which bears the title of the whole work; and here also Mr. Browning reviews those broad facts of the Franceschini case which are beyond dispute, and which constitute, so far as they go, the crude metal of his ring. He has worked into this almost every incident which the chronicle supplies, and his book requires no supplement; but the fragmentary view of its contents which I am reduced to giving can only be held together by a previous outline of the story.

"There lived in Rome in 1679 Pietro and Violante Comparini, an elderly couple of the middle class, fond of show and good living, and who in spite of a fair income had run considerably into debt. They were, indeed, at the period in question in receipt of a papal bounty, employed in the relief of the needy who did not like to beg. Creditors were pressing, and only one expedient suggested itself: they must have a child; and thus enable themselves to draw on their capital, now tied up for the benefit of an unknown heir-at-law. The wife conceived this plan, and also carried it out without taking her husband into her confidence. She secured beforehand the infant of a poor and not very reputable woman, announced her expectation, half miraculous, at her past fifty years, and became to all appearance the mother of a girl, the Francesca Pompilia of the story.

"When Pompilia had reached the age of thirteen, there was also in Rome Count Guido Franceschini, an impoverished nobleman of Arezzo, and the elder of three brothers, of whom the second, Abate Paolo, and the third, Canon Girolamo, also play some part in the story. Count Guido himself belonged to the minor ranks of the priesthood and had spent his best years in seeking preferment in it. Pre-

ferment had not come, and the only means of building up the family fortunes in his own person was now a moneyed wife. He was poor, fifty years old, and personally unattractive. A contemporary chronicle describes him as short, thin, and pale, and with a projecting nose. He had nothing to offer but his rank; but in the case of a very obscure heiress, this might suffice, and such a one seemed to present herself in Pompilia Comparini. He heard of her at the local centre of gossip, the barber's shop; received an exaggerated estimate of her dowry; and made proposals for her hand; being supported in his suit by the Abate Paul. They did not on their side understate the advantages of the connection. They are, indeed, said to have given as their yearly income a sum exceeding their capital, and Violante was soon dazzled into consenting to it. Old Pietro was more wary. He made inquiries as to the state of the Count's fortune and declined, under plea of his daughter's extreme youth, to think of him as a son-in-law.

"Violante pretended submission, secretly led Pompilia to a church, the very church of San Lorenzo in Lucina where four years later the murdered bodies of all three were to be displayed, and brought her back as Count Guido's wife. Pietro could only accept the accomplished fact; and he so far resigned himself to it, that he paid down an installment of his daughter's dowry, and made up the deficiency by transferring to the newly married couple all that he actually possessed. This left him no choice but to live under their roof, and the four removed together to the Franceschini abode at Arezzo. The arrangement proved disastrous, and at the end of a few months Pietro and Violante were glad to return to Rome, though with empty pockets, and on money lent them for the journey by their son-in-law.

"We have conflicting testimony as to the cause of this rupture. The Governor of Arezzo, writing to the Abate Paul in Rome, lays all the blame of it on the Comparini, whom he taxes with vulgar and aggressive behavior; and Mr. Browning readily admits that at the beginning there may have been faults on their side. But popular judgment as well as the balance of evidence were in favor of the opposite view; and curious details are given by Pompilia and by a servant of the family, a sworn witness on Pompilia's

trial, of the petty cruelties and privations to which both parents and child were subjected.

"So much, at all events, was clear; Violante's sin had overtaken her; and it now occurred to her, apparently for the first time, to cast off its burden by confession. The moment was propitious, for the pope had proclaimed a jubilee in honor of his eightieth year, and absolution was to be had for the asking. But the Church in this case made conditions. Absolution must be preceded by atonement. Violante must restore to her legal heirs that of which her pretended motherhood had defrauded them. The first step towards this was to reveal the fraud to her husband; and Pietro lost no time in making use of the revelation. He repudiated Pompilia, and with her all claims on her husband's part. The case was carried into court. The Court decreed a compromise. Pietro appealed from the decree, and the question remained unsettled.

"The chief sufferer by these proceedings was Pompilia herself. She already had reason to dread her husband as a tyrant — he to dislike her as a victim; and his discovery of her base birth, with the threatened loss of the greater part of her dowry, could only result with such a man in increased aversion towards her. From this moment his one aim seems to have been to get rid of his wife, but in such a manner as not to forfeit any pecuniary advantage he might still derive from their union. This could only be done by convicting her of infidelity; and he attacked her so furiously, and so persistently, on the subject of a certain Canon Giuseppe Caponsacchi, whom she barely knew, but whose attentions he declared her to have challenged, that at last she fled from Arezzo, with this very man.

"She had appealed for protection against her husband's violence to the Archbishop and to the Governor. She had striven to enlist the aid of his brother-in-law, Conti. She had implored a priest in confession to write for her to her parents, and induce them to fetch her away. But the whole town was in the interest of the Franceschini, or in dread of them. Her prayers were useless, and Caponsacchi, whom she had heard of as a 'resolute man,' appeared her last resource. He was, as she knew, contemplating a journey to Rome; an opportunity presented itself for speak-

ing to him from her window, or her balcony; and she persuaded him, though not without difficulty, to assist her escape, and conduct her to her old home. On a given night she slipped away from her husband's side, and joined the Canon where he awaited her with a carriage. They traveled day and night till they reached Castelnuovo, a village within four hours of the journey's end. There they were compelled to rest, and there also the husband overtook them. They were not together at the moment; but the fact of the elopement was patent; and if Franceschini had killed his wife there, in the supposed excitement of the discovery, the law might have dealt leniently with him; but it suited him best for the time being to let her live. He procured the arrest of the fugitives, and after a short confinement on the spot, they were conveyed to the New Prisons in Rome (Carceri Nuove) and tried on the charge of adultery.

"It is impossible not to believe that Count Guido had been working towards this end. Pompilia's verbal communications with Caponsacchi had been supplemented by letters, now brought to him in her name, now thrown or let down from her window as he passed the house. They were written, as he said, on the subject of the flight, and as he also said, he burned them as soon as read, not doubting their authenticity. But Pompilia declared, on examination, that she could neither write nor read; and setting aside all presumption of her veracity, this was more than probable. The writer of the letters must, therefore, have been the Count, or some one employed by him for the purpose. He now completed the intrigue by producing eighteen or twenty more of a very incriminating character which he declared to have been left by the prisoners at Castelnuovo; and these were not only disclaimed with every appearance of sincerity by both the persons accused, but bore the marks of forgery within themselves.

"Pompilia and Caponsacchi answered all the questions addressed to them simply and firmly; and though their statements did not always coincide, these were calculated on the whole to create a moral conviction of their innocence; the facts on which they disagreed being of little weight. But moral conviction was not legal proof; the question of false testimony does not seem to have been even raised;

and the Court found itself in a dilemma, which it acknowledged in the following way: it was decreed that for his complicity in 'the flight and deviation of Francesca Comparini,' and too great intimacy with her, Caponsacchi should be banished for three years to Civita Vecchia; and that Pompilia, on her side, should be relegated, for the time being, to a convent. That is to say: the prisoners were pronounced guilty; and a merely nominal punishment was inflicted upon them.

"The records of this trial contain almost everything of biographical or even dramatic interest in the original book. They are, so far as they go, the complete history of the case; and the result of the trial, ambiguous as it was, supplied the only argument on which an even formal defense of the subsequent murder could be based. The substance of these records appears in full in Mr. Browning's work; and his readers can judge for themselves whether the letters which were intended to substantiate Pompilia's guilt could, even if she had possessed the power of writing, have been written by a woman so young and so uncultured as herself. They will also see that the Count's plot against his wife was still more deeply laid than the above-mentioned circumstances attest.

"Count Guido was of course not satisfied. He wanted a divorce; and he continued to sue for it by means of his brother, the Abate Paul, then residing in Rome; but before long he received news which was destined to change his plans. Pompilia was about to become a mother; and in consideration of her state, she had been removed from the convent to her paternal home, where she was still to be ostensibly a prisoner. The Comparini then occupied a small villa outside one of the city gates. A few months later, in this secluded spot, the Countess Franceschini gave birth to a son, whom her parents lost no time in conveying to a place of concealment and safety. The murder took place a fortnight after this event. I give the rest of the story in an almost literal translation from a contemporary narrative which was published immediately after the Count's execution, in the form of a pamphlet — the then current substitute for a newspaper. [This pamphlet has supplied Mr. Browning with some of his most curious facts. It fell into his hands in London.]

"'Being oppressed by various feelings, and stimulated to revenge, now by honor, now by self-interest, yielding to his wicked thoughts, he [Count Guido] devised a plan for killing his wife and her nominal parents; and having enlisted in his enterprise four other ruffians, laborers on his property, started with them from Arezzo, and on Christmas-eve arrived in Rome, and took up his abode at Ponte Milvio, where there was a villa belonging to his brother, and where he concealed himself with his followers till the fitting moment for the execution of his design had arrived. Having therefore watched from thence all the movements of the Comparini family, he proceeded on Thursday, the 2nd of January, at one o'clock of the night [the first hour after sunset], with his companions to the Comparinis' house; and having left Biagio Agostinelli and Domenico Gambasini at the gate, he instructed one of the others to knock at the house-door, which was opened to him on his declaring that he brought a letter from Canon Caponsacchi at Civita Vecchia. The wicked Franceschini, supported by two other of his assassins, instantly threw himself on Violante Comparini, who had opened the door, and flung her dead upon the ground. Pompilia, in this extremity, extinguished the light, thinking thus to elude her assassins, and made for the door of a neighboring blacksmith, crying for help; seeing Franceschini provided with a lantern, she ran and hid herself under the bed, but being dragged from under it, the unhappy woman was barbarously put to death by twenty-two wounds from the hand of her husband, who, not content with this, dragged her to the feet of Comparini, who, being similarly wounded by another of the assassins, was crying, "*Confession.*"

"'At the noise of this horrible massacre people rushed to the spot; but the villains succeeded in flying, leaving behind, however, in their haste, one his cloak, and Franceschini his cap, which was the means of betraying them. The unfortunate Francesca Pompilia, in spite of all the wounds with which she had been mangled, having implored of the Holy Virgin the grace of being allowed to confess, obtained it, since she was able to survive for a short time and describe the horrible attack. She also related that after the deed her husband asked the assassin who had helped him to mur-

der her *if she were really dead ;* and being assured that she was, quickly rejoined, *let us lose no time, but return to the vineyard* [villa] ; and so they escaped. Meanwhile the police [Forza] having been called, it arrived with its chief officer [Bargello], and a confessor was soon procured, together with a surgeon, who devoted himself to the treatment of the unfortunate girl.

"'Monsignore, the Governor, being informed of the event, immediately despatched Captain Patrizj to arrest the culprits ; but on reaching the vineyard the police officers discovered that they were no longer there, but had gone towards the high road an hour before. Patrizj pursued his journey without rest, and having arrived at the inn, was told by the landlord that Franceschini had insisted upon obtaining horses, which were refused to him because he was not supplied with the necessary order ; and had proceeded therefore on foot with his companions towards Baccano. Continuing his march, and taking the necessary precautions, he approached the Merluzza inn, and there discovered the assassins, who were speedily arrested, their knives still stained with blood, a hundred and fifty scudi in coin being also found on Franceschini's person. The arrest, however, cost Patrizj his life, for he had heated himself too much, and having received a slight wound, died in a few days.

"'The knife of Franceschini was on the Genoese pattern, and triangular ; and was notched at the edge, so that it could not be withdrawn from the wounded flesh without lacerating it in such a manner as to render the wound incurable.

"'The criminals being taken to Ponte Milvio, they went through a first examination at the inn there at the hands of the notaries and judges sent thither for the purpose, and the chief points of a confession were obtained from them.

"'When the capture of the delinquents was known in Rome, a multitude of the people hastened to see them as they were conveyed bound on horses into the city. It is related that Franceschini having asked one of the police officers in the course of the journey *however the crime had been discovered*, and being told *that it had been revealed by his wife, whom they had found still living*, was almost stupefied by the intelligence. Towards twenty-three o'clock [the last hour before sunset] they arrived at the prisons. A cer-

tain Francesco Pasquini, of Città di Castello, and Alessandro Baldeschi, of the city itself [probably Rome], both twenty-two years of age, were the assistants of Guido Franceschini in the murder of the Comparini; and Gambasini and Agostinelli were those who stood on guard at the gate.

"'Meanwhile the corpses of the assassinated Comparini were exposed at San Lorenzo, in Lucina, but so disfigured, and especially Franceschini's wife, by their wounds in the face, that they were no longer recognizable. The unhappy Francesca, after taking the sacrament, forgiving her murderers, under seventeen years of age, and after having made her will, died on the sixth day of the month, which was that of the Epiphany; and was able to clear herself of all the calumnies which her husband had brought against her. The surprise of the people in seeing these corpses was great, from the atrocity of the deed, which made one really shudder, seeing two septuagenarians and a girl of seventeen so miserably put to death.

"'The trial proceeding meanwhile, many papers were drawn up on the subject, bringing forward all the most incriminating circumstances of this horrible massacre; and others also were written for the defense with much erudition, especially by the advocate of the poor, a certain Monsignor Spreti, which had the effect of postponing the sentence; also because Baldeschi persisted in denial, though he was tortured with the rope, and twice fainted under it. At last he confessed, and so did the others, who also revealed the fact that they had intended in due time to murder Franceschini himself, and take his money, because he had not kept his promise of paying them the moment they should have left Rome.

"'On the twenty-second of February there appeared on the Piazza del Popolo a large platform with a guillotine and two gibbets, on which the culprits were to be executed. Many stands were constructed for the convenience of those who were curious to witness such a terrible act of justice; and the concourse was so great that some windows fetched as much as six dollars each. At eight o'clock Franceschini and his companions were summoned to their death, and having been placed in the consorteria, and there assisted by

the Abate Panciatici and the Cardinal Acciajuoli, forthwith disposed themselves to die well. At twenty o'clock the Company of Death and the Misericordia reached the dungeons, and the condemned were let down, placed on separate carts, and conveyed to the place of execution.'

"It is farther stated that Franceschini showed the most intrepidity and cold blood of them all, and that he died with the name of Jesus on his lips. He wore the same clothes in which he had committed the crime: a close-fitting garment [*juste-au-corps*] of gray cloth, a loose black shirt [*camiciuola*], a goat's hair cloak, a white hat, and a cotton cap.

"The attempt made by him to defraud his accomplices, poor and helpless as they were, has been accepted by Mr. Browning as an indication of character which forbade any lenient interpretation of his previous acts. Pompilia, on the other hand, is absolved by all the circumstances of her protracted death from any doubt of her innocence which previous evidence might have raised. Ten different persons attest not only her denial of any offense against her husband, but what is of far more value, her Christian gentleness, and absolute maiden modesty, under the sufferings of her last days, and the medical treatment to which they subjected her. Among the witnesses are a doctor of theology (Abate Liberato Barberito), the apothecary and his assistant, and a number of monks or priests; the first and most circumstantial deposition being that of an Augustine, Frà Celestino Angelo di Sant' Anna, and concluding with these words: 'I do not say more, for fear of being taxed with partiality. I know well that God alone can examine the heart. But I know also that from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks; and that my great St. Augustine says: "As the life was, so is its end."'

"It needed all the evidence in Pompilia's favor to secure the full punishment of her murderer, strengthened as he was by social and ecclesiastical position, and by the acknowledged rights of marital jealousy. We find curious proof of the sympathies which might have prejudiced his wife's cause in the marginal notes appended to her depositions, and which repeatedly introduce them as lies.

"'F. *Lie concerning the arrival at Castelnuovo.*"

"'H. *New lies to the effect that she did not receive the lover's letters, and does not know how to write,*' etc., etc.

"The significant question, Whether and when a husband may kill his unfaithful wife, was in the present case not thought to be finally answered, till an appeal had been made from the ecclesiastical tribunal to the pope himself. It was Innocent XII. who virtually sentenced Count Franceschini and his four accomplices to death."

Some further details concerning the book which became the basis of the poem are contained in an account of a visit to Browning by Rev. John W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, which was published in *The Christian Register* for January 19, 1888, under the title, "An Eagle-Feather." Mr. Chadwick asked the poet:—

"And how about the book of *The Ring and the Book?* Had he made up that, too, or was there really such a book? There was, indeed; and would we like to see it? There was little doubt of that; and it was produced, and the story of his buying it for 'eightpence English just' was told, but need not be retold here, for in *The Ring and the Book* it is set down with literal truth. The appearance and character of the book, moreover, are exactly what the poem represents. It is part print, part manuscript, ending with two epistolary accounts, if I remember rightly, of Guido's execution, written by the lawyers in the case. It was an astonishing 'find,' and it is passing strange that a book compiled so carefully should have been brought to such a low estate. Mr. Browning did not seem at all inclined to toss it in the air and catch it, as he does in verse. He handled it very carefully, and with very evident affection. I asked him if it did not make him very happy to have created such a woman as Pompilia; and he said, 'I assure you that I found her just as she speaks and acts in my poem in that old book.' There was that in his tone that made it evident Caponsacchi had a rival lover, without blame. Of the old pope of the poem, too, he spoke with real affection. He told us how he had found a medal of him in a London antiquary's shop, had left it meaning to come back for it, came back, and found that it had gone. But the shopman told him Lady Houghton (Mrs. Richard Monckton Milnes) had taken it. 'You will lend it to me,' said Mr. Browning to

her, 'in case I want it some time to be copied for an illustration?' She preferred giving it to him; had most likely intended doing so when she bought it. It was in a pretty little box, and had a benignant expression, exactly suited to the character of the good pope in the poem. As further proof that all is grist that comes to some folks' mills there was a picture of the miserable Count Guido Franceschini on his execution day, which some one had come upon in a London printshop, and sent to Mr. Browning."

The chief historical character in this poem is Innocent XII., who was pope from 1691 to his death, in September, 1700. Antonio Pignatelli was born at Naples in 1615, and was educated at the Jesuit College in Rome. At the age of twenty he entered the papal service, and rose step by step until he was a cardinal in 1681; and he was also the archbishop of Naples. When he became pope he opposed nepotism and simony, and he ruled with moderation and justice. He built the harbor of Prato d' Anzo on the ruins of ancient Antium, constructed an aqueduct for Civita Vecchia, and built the palace of Monte Citario for the courts of justice in Rome. He also erected many other buildings, including schools, asylums, and the penitentiary of San Michele. He made a law that no pope or cardinal should ever indulge in nepotism; but his main political act was that connected with a quarrel of the popes with Louis XIV. and the French church. Louis claimed the independence of the French church, and that he was its head, practically. To this assertion Innocent was strongly opposed, and the quarrel lasted throughout his reign.

The *Encylopædia Britannica*, in its article on Innocent XI., says he is the Pope of Browning's poem; but in this it is in error, for the poem distinctly calls the Pope by his name, "Antonio Pignatelli of Naples." Some reference is made to Innocent XI., however, and especially in connection with the Molinists. Benedetto Odescalchi was born at Como in 1611, became a cardinal in 1647, and was elected pope in September, 1676. He had courage and firmness, but he was austere and obstinate. He reduced ecclesiastical abuses, and broke up nepotism. He was opposed by the Jesuits, but was very popular. Under him began the quarrel with Louis XIV. He claimed the revenues of vacant eccle-

siastical offices in France, which Louis desired for himself. The quarrel was also waged with reference to the right of asylum of the foreign ambassadors in Rome, a right which Innocent refused to have continued. An account of this quarrel of diplomatists is to be found in the third volume of Ranke's *Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome.* Ranke says that "Innocent XI., of the house of Odescalchi of Como, came to Rome in his twenty-fifth year, with no other fortune than his sword and pistols, to seek some secular employment there, or perhaps to take service in the Neapolitan army. The advice of a cardinal, who saw more deeply into his character than he did himself, induced him to enter upon the career of the curia. This he did with so much zeal and earnestness, and gradually secured such a reputation for ability and good intentions, that while the conclave was sitting the people shouted his name under the porticoes of St. Peter's, and there was a general feeling of satisfaction when his election was declared. He was a man of such mildness and humility of manner that when he called for any of his servants, it was with the reservation, 'if it was convenient to them;' of such purity of heart and life that his confessor declared that he never discovered in him anything which could sever the soul from God; meek and gentle, but impelled by the same conscientiousness which governed his private life to fulfill the duties of his office with inflexible integrity."

This account of Innocent XI. agrees much better with the character attributed by Browning to his Pope than anything which is told of Innocent XII. It seems that the poet confounded the two men with each other, or, what is more probable, that he deliberately gave to Innocent XII. qualities which belonged only to Innocent XI.

Reference is frequently made throughout the poem to the Molinists. As there have been two or three parties in the Catholic Church bearing this name, it is necessary to keep in mind that those to whom Browning refers are the followers of Michel de Molinos, who was born of a noble Spanish family in the diocese of Saragossa, Aragon, December 21, 1627. He graduated at Coimbra, had a successful experience in his own country, and then went to Rome. He very soon became very popular as a spiritual adviser, and in 1675 he

published a book entitled *Il Guida Spirituale.* This book rapidly attained a great success, going through with no less than twenty editions in six years and in several languages. The first English translation appeared in 1699 as *The Spiritual Guide which disentangles the soul, and brings it by the inward way to the getting of perfect contemplation and the rich treasure of internal peace. Written by Dr. Michel Molinos, priest.* Molinos had a genius for religious instruction, and the ability to make spiritual things real to those he influenced. His doctrine is known as Quietism, and it is simply mysticism, with the peculiarities of his own time, place, and religious surroundings. Mr. John Bigelow says of his book: "The substance of its teachings was that the soul of man is the temple and abode of God, which we ought, therefore, to keep as clean and pure from worldliness, and lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life, as possible. The true end of human life ought to be, as far as possible, the attainment of perfection. In the progress to this result, Molinos distinguishes two principal stages or degrees, the first attainable by meditation, the second, and highest, by contemplation. In the first stage the attention is fixed upon the capital truths of religion, upon all the circumstances under which religion has been commended to us, objections are wrestled with, and doubts which might trouble the soul one by one are resolved and banished. In this stage it is the reason, mainly, that acts, and often, if not altogether, in opposition to the will or the natural man. One, however, does not reach the higher stage of devotion till the soul ceases to struggle, till it has no farther need of proofs or reflection, till it contemplates the truth in silence and repose. This is what is termed retirement of the soul and perfect contemplation, in which the soul does not reason nor reflect, neither about God nor itself, but passively receives the impressions of celestial light, undisturbed by the world or its works. Whenever the soul can be lifted up to this state, it desires nothing, not even its own salvation, and fears nothing, not even hell. It becomes indifferent to the use of the sacraments, and to all the practices of sensible devotion, having transcended the sphere of their efficacy."

Such was the teaching of Molinos, which at first was received with great favor, but which at last provoked the most

bitter opposition and persecution. As Browning frequently refers to the intense interest created in Rome by the teachings of Molinos, Mr. Bigelow may be again drawn upon for an account of his career. "There is nothing in these doctrines of passivity which had not been taught by many of the most highly esteemed mystical writers of the Church, by St. Bonaventura, St. Theresa, John of the Cross, the Baroness de Chantal, St. Francis de Sales, and others, some of whom had indeed been canonized as saints. The doctrines were presented in a simple and unaffected style, and the book, as well as its author, acquired a prompt and extraordinary popularity. Its author's acquaintance and friendship was sought by people in the greatest credit, not only at Rome, but in other parts of Europe, by correspondence. Among his followers were three fathers of the Oratoire, who soon after received cardinal's hats, and even the popes who successively occupied the pontifical chair during his residence in Rome took particular notice of him. The Cardinal Odescalchi was no sooner raised to the pontificate as Innocent XI. than he provided Molinos with lodgings at the Vatican, and such was his esteem for him that he is said to have formed the purpose of making him a cardinal, and to have actually selected him for a time as his spiritual director.

"With such evidence of protection in high quarters, and with so much in his theology of unworldliness and devoutness to commend it to the understandings as well as to the hearts of the faithful, the popularity of Molinos grew apace. He seemed to them another St. Paul, sent to emancipate them from the thrall of image-manufacturers and an idolatrous and costly ceremonial; to bring them nearer to God and farther from priestcraft and obscurantism. He was neither greedy nor ambitious. He sought no place, nor would he accept any, — not even a cardinal's hat. A priest at Rome without ambition was such an unusual phenomenon that it alone would have sufficed to make him famous. Every one who was sincerely devout, or who wished to be thought so, adopted 'the method of Molinos,' and many who wished promotion at Rome saw no surer nor speedier way to it than to establish good relations with him and his friends. Queen Christine, of Sweden, then the lioness of

Rome, was under his direction, and made his gifts and piety a favorite theme of her extensive correspondence. Cardinal d'Estrées, who represented Louis XIV. and his government at the pontifical court, and who was one of the most accomplished courtiers of his time, felt it to be worth his while to identify himself with the new departure, and to put Molinos in correspondence with important people in France."

Among other people in Rome at this time was Gilbert Burnet, the English bishop and historian, who wrote in the winter of 1685 this account of Quietism: "The new method of Molinos doth so much prevail at Naples that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand followers in that city. He hath writ a book which is intitled *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the Mystical Divinity; the substance of the whole is reduced to this, that, in our prayers and other devotions, the best methods are to retire the mind from all gross images, and so to form an act of Faith, and thereby to present ourselves before God, and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his conduct. This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts and different forms of devotion, and he makes small account of corporal austerities, and reduces all the exercises of religion to this simplicity of mind. He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in religious houses, but even to secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a new reformation of men's minds and manners. He hath many priests in Italy, but chiefly in Naples, that dispose those who confess themselves to them to follow his methods. The Jesuits have set themselves much against this conduct as forseeing it may weaken the empire that superstition hath over the minds of the people; that it may make religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open the door to enthusiasms. They also pretend that his conduct is factious and seditious; that this may breed a schism in the Church. And because he saith in some places of his book that the mind may rise up to such simplicity in its acts that it may rise in some of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the humanity of Christ, they have accused him as intending to lay aside the doctrine of Christ's humanity, though it is plain that he speaks only of the purity of

some single acts. Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against Molinos, and they have also pretended that some of his disciples have infused it into their penitents that they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed without going first to confession, which they thought weakened much the yoke by which the priests subdue the consciences of the people to their conduct. Yet he was much supported, both in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He hath also many friends and followers at Rome. So the Jesuits, as a provincial of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great king, that is now extremely in the interests of their Order, to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger of such innovations. It is certain the Pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed of a great opinion of Molinos' sanctity; yet, upon the complaints of some cardinals that seconded the zeal of that king, he and some of his followers were clapt into the Inquisition, where they have been now for some months, but still they are well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the Pope hath of him, who saith still that he may err, yet he is still a good man."

In 1686 Molinos was brought to trial, but in opposition to the wishes of Innocent XI. Indeed, for months the Jesuits had to labor before they could remove the opposition which the pope alone interposed to the fulfillment of their wishes. Innocent was accused of heresy and threatened with the power of the Church before he would yield and consent to the condemnation of a man in whom he saw no evil. The trial was made as imposing and formidable as possible; and the condemnation of Molinos being prearranged it was sought to make it the occasion of awing and silencing his followers by putting upon his teachings the terrible brand of the Church's disapproval. Molinos bore up under his condemnation quietly and bravely. His trial was a mockery, a farce from first to last, so far as justice was concerned. He was condemned to perpetual solitude; and he was completely isolated from the world, and so effectually that nothing more is known of him, except that he died in September, 1696.

For an account of this remarkable man, see *Molinos the*

Quietist, by John Bigelow, which gives the story of his career in Rome and his trial; and also the bull of condemnation issued by Innocent XI. The teachings of Molinos are presented in that striking spiritual romance, *John Inglesant*, by J. H. Shorthouse. Mr. Shorthouse has also edited a volume called *Golden Thoughts from the "Spiritual Guide" of Molinos.*

The teachings of Molinos did not lose their power with his condemnation and death. They were soon after taken up in France by Madame Guyon, and they became the source of her influence and of her many writings. Then they passed on to Fénelon and the school of religious thought of which he was the noblest representative. His struggle with Bossuet over his *Maxims of the Saints*, in which he had passed Molinism through the alembic of his rare genius, forms one of the most interesting episodes in religious history. Browning touches upon this when he mentions the Jansenists, the name given to Fénelon and his followers. Jansen was a Hollander, 1585–1638, who revived the spirit of the theology of St. Augustine. His teachings passed into France, and there gained the name of Jansenism about the middle of the sixteenth century. This was a liberal movement within the Catholic Church, based on the same spiritual principles as Protestanism, and for that reason opposed by the Jesuits, and finally condemned by the Church. The Jansenist movement found its noblest expression in Port Royal, the Arnaulds, Fénelon, and the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal.

The journey of Caponsacchi and Pompilia was from Arezzo to Rome, and we may follow them. Arezzo, situated in middle Italy, is the capital of the province of Arezzo. It is fifty-five miles southeast of Florence, and about one hundred north of Rome. It has two colleges, a cathedral, an academy of arts and sciences, a school of technology, and extensive manufactories. Its population is about forty thousand. In his *Cities of Italy* Hare gives this account of Arezzo and the Pieve mentioned so often by Caponsacchi: "Arezzo is a charming place with a bright Tuscan aspect, and it will strike travelers coming from the south by the cheerfulness of its broad pavements and the green shutters of its houses. As Arretium, one of the twelve cities of the

Etruscan confederation, it was celebrated for its vases of red pottery. It was the headquarters of the Consul Flaminius before the battle of Thrasymene. In the Middle Ages it was chiefly held by the Ghibelline party. Among its famous citizens have been Mæcenas; Petrarch; Pietro (Bacci) Aretino, 1492; Margaritone; Spinello, the artist, 1328; Vasari, and many other distinguished citizens. The Via Cavour leads immediately into the Corso. Here, on the right, is the great Church of S. Maria della Pieve, founded by Bishop Aribertus between 980 and 1000, but chiefly built in 1216 by the native architect, Marchionne. The interior has three aisles separated by tall pillars with richly sculptured Corinthian capitals. It is very simple and severe, and was restored in 1874–75. At the high altar is a *Saint George*, by Vasari." In his *Tuscan Sculptors* Perkins says of this church: "Towards the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, the taste for extravagant or capricious ornament in architectural sculpture showed itself in the façade of the Pieve, or parochial church of Arezzo. It has three rows of columns, one above the other, bound together in groups of two, three, and four, varying in size, shape, and length, twisted like vines, or fashioned into human forms, based upon extravagantly conceived animals, and covered with capitals fantastically ornamented." Pieve is the Italian name for a parish church.

The cathedral of which Caponsacchi was a canon or assistant to the bishop is in the Gothic style, and was begun in 1277, but is not yet completed. It is built of yellow stone with an octangular campanile or bell tower, and its statues are crude and broken. It has a very beautiful interior, a finely colored roof, and brilliant stained windows. The simplicity of the lines, says Hare, is seldom broken, and only by objects of the rarest beauty. This cathedral contains several magnificent tombs by Margaritone, Pisano, and other sculptors.

The city has statues of Ferdinand I. and Ferdinand III., to one of which Caponsacchi refers. The vineyards of Arezzo have been celebrated ever since the days of Pliny.

The first stopping place of Caponsacchi was Perugia, about thirty-five miles southeast of Arezzo, one of the finest and largest of the hill-towns of Italy. It has a university,

and has been noted for centuries for its interest in art and literature. It has many works of art in architecture, painting, sculpture, and antiquities.

At Foligno the travelers struck the great highway from Ancona and eastern Italy to Rome. This is a small town, not far from Perugia. It has a cathedral and a few important works of art.

Castelnuovo, the place where the travelers are overtaken by Guido, is a village, about fifteen miles from Rome, on the Via Flaminia. It consists only of an inn and a small cluster of houses.

Page 1. *Castellani's imitative craft.* Castellani is a famous jeweler of Rome, whose shop is in the Palazzo Poli. He is mentioned by About and Ampère in their works on Rome. His shop contained a large collection of Etruscan designs, remarkable for its beauty. In his *Roba di Roma* Mr. W. W. Story speaks of his "admirable reproductions of jewelry in the Etruscan and early Christian style, which have won for him so just a celebrity, and who exercises his profession in the true spirit of an antiquary and an artist." — *Old tombs at Chiusi.* In Chiusi, a city of central Italy, are some remarkable Etruscan tombs. Hare, in his *Cities of Northern and Central Italy*, says that "the most important of these tombs is that called Poggio Cajella, about three miles north by northeast of the town. It is a tumulus, containing a number of tombs arranged in groups on three terraces one above the other and intersected by labyrinthine passages of unknown intention."

2. *Lira.* A small Italian coin. — *Baccio's marble.* Baccio Bandinelli, a Florentine sculptor, 1497–1559. See Leader Scott's *Tuscan Studies and Sketches.* This marble is described in Hare's *Cities of Italy:* "The Borgo di San Lorenzo, which opens opposite the Arcivescovado, leads speedily to the Piazza San Lorenzo, in one corner of which is a statue of Giovanni delle Bande Nere (father of Cosimo I.) by Baccio Bandinelli. Like most of the works of this conceited but indifferent master, it has been much ridiculed." — *John of the Black Bands.* The Giovanni delle Bande Nere just mentioned. — *Riccardi.* The Palazzo Riccardi, the palace of one of the great families of Florence. — *San Lorenzo.* The great church by that name in

Florence. — *Crazie.* A coin worth one and one half cents. — *Lionard.* Lionardo da Vinci, whose picture called *Joconde* is in the Louvre gallery.

3. *Lorenzo named the Square.* The square in front of the church of San Lorenzo, Florence. — *Strozzi.* The Strozzi palace. It was built near the end of the fifteenth century, and is one of the most perfect structures of its kind.

7. *Presbyter.* Priest. The names following give the successive steps to full priesthood. — *Ghetto.* The quarter assigned to the Jews in Italian cities, especially during the Middle Ages. Pope Paul IV. first instituted this quarter in Rome, and confined the Jews within it. See Story's *Roba di Roma*, and Castelar's *Old Rome and New Italy*, for vivid accounts of it in recent years.

13. *Abate.* Abbot. — *Canon.* A member of the chapter or council of a bishop; a priest attached to a cathedral or a collegiate church.

21. *The market-place of the Barberini.* "Whoever has been in Rome," says Christian Andersen, "is well acquainted with the Piazza Barberini, in the great square, with the beautiful fountain where the Tritons empty the spouting conch-shell, from which the water springs upward many feet." — *Bernini's creature.* Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini was born in Naples in 1598, went to Rome early, worked for the popes and cardinals as an architect and sculptor, spent some time in Paris, and died in 1680. He built the palace of the Barberini, and the fountain in front of it.

28. *Corelli to young Haendel.* Arcangelo Corelli, 1653–1713, was a great violinist and composer. He lived in Rome, where he gained a great reputation as a performer. Herr Paul David says of his relations to Handel: "Handel conducted some of his own cantatas, which were written in a more complicated style than the music with which Corelli and the Italian musicians of that period were familiar. Handel tried in vain to explain to Corelli, who was leading the band, how a certain passage ought to be executed, and at last, losing his temper, snatched the violin from Corelli's hands and played it himself, whereupon Corelli remarked in the politest manner, 'But, my dear Saxon, this music is in

the French style, of which I have no experience.' He had a European reputation and wrote much. Corelli has a double claim to a prominent place in the history of musical art — as a great violinist who laid a firm foundation for all future development of technique and of a pure style of playing; and as a composer who materially advanced the progress of composition." See the Musical Dictionaries of Hawkins, Grove, and Apthorp.

29. *New Prison.* A reference to the prison built by Innocent XI.

33. *Lorenzo in Lucina.* This is the church of Pompilia, and is situated in the small square of San Lorenzo, which opens out of the Corso. "Here," says Hare in his *Walks in Rome*, "is the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, founded in the fifth century, but rebuilt in its present form by Paul V. in 1606. The campanile is of an older date, and so are the lions in the portico. No one should omit seeing the grand picture of Guido Reni over the high altar of this church, — the crucifixion, seen against a wild, stormy sky. Niccolas Poussin is buried here, and one of his best known Arcadian landscapes is reproduced in a bas-relief upon his tomb, which was erected by Chateaubriand." — *Corso.* The principal street, the great thoroughfare, of Rome, along which the Carnival passes. "The Corso," said Dickens, "is a street a mile long; a street of shops, and palaces, and private houses, sometimes opening into a broad piazza. There are verandas and balconies, of all shapes and sizes, to almost every house."

37. *Cardinal who book-made on the same.* Cardinal d'Estrées published two or three books in connection with the teachings of Molinos. — *Ruspoli.* The Ruspoli palace on the Corso.

54. *Osteria.* Tavern or inn.

56. *Sbirri.* Pontifical police.

59. *Convertites.* An order of nuns devoted to the rescue of the fallen.

61. *Canidian hate.* The reference is to the account given by Horace in his poems of the hate and rage of Canidia, a witch.

69. *Saint Anna's.* The Monastery of Saint Anna in Rome, in which Vittoria Colonna also waited for death. —

Maratta. A painter of the school of Guido Reni, 1625–1713, who painted numerous madonnas.

76. *Square of Spain.* The square in which the palace of the Spanish ambassador is situated. On one side of it are the buildings of the Propaganda, and on the other the magnificent flight of steps leading to the church of La Trinità de Monti.

110. *Pauls.* Old Italian silver coins worth about ten cents.

116. *Place Colonna.* The Piazza Colonna is a square in Rome fronting the Corso, and containing the Antonine Column. — *Zecchines.* Gold coins worth about two and one half dollars.

126. *Leda.* A picture by Correggio, 1494–1534, now in the Museum at Berlin.

130. *Acquetta.* Wine mixed with water.

131. *Paphos.* A city of ancient Cyprus, containing the temple of Aphrodite, who was said to have been born here of the foam of the sea. The sensual rites of this goddess are alluded to by the poet.

134. *Place Navona.* The Piazza Navona is a vast oblong square, containing three fountains.

139. *Stinche.* A prison.

153. *Pietro of Cortona.* Pietro da Cortona, 1596–1669, a painter who worked in Florence and Rome and decorated the ceilings of the Palazzo Barberini, was mainly a scenic painter, and a decorator of walls and ceilings. — *Ciro Ferri.* An historic painter, 1634–1689, a pupil of Cortona, and worked mainly in his manner.

155. *Ser Franco's merry Tales.* The *Novels and Tales* of Franco Saccheti, 1335–1400. They have something of the quality of Boccaccio, but with more of purity.

161. *Bilboa.* A sword so named from the Spanish adventurer and American discoverer.

165. *Gate San Spirito.* The Porta San Spirito of Arezzo is on the side of the city towards Rome.

173. *Ovid's art.* The *Art of Love* of Ovid. — "*Summa.*" The *Summa Theologiæ* of Thomas Aquinas, the chief of the scholastic thinkers. His summary of theology was the principal book of theologians in the Middle Ages.

198. *Facchini.* A porter or base fellow.

199. *Marino.* Probably Giovanni Battista Marini is meant. He lived from 1569 to 1625, and was the leading poet of his time. He broke away from the classical style. His own manner was affected and unreal, leaning towards the romantic. His *Adonis* was a very popular poem in its day.

210. *Saint Thomas.* Thomas Aquinas.

226. *Pasquin.* A rough, unfinished, and mutilated statue in the Piazza di Pasquino, at the angle of the Braschi Palace, near the Piazza Navona. It was found in the sixteenth century, and is thought to represent Menelaus supporting the dead body of Patroclus. It has been greatly admired by some artists, and Bernini even thought it the finest fragment of antiquity. A tailor by the name of Pasquino, near whose shop it was, entertained his customers with the gossip of the day. At the same time the statue was used for pasting squibs and satires upon in the vein of Pasquino's tattle. Hence these writings came to be called *pasquinades.* Jibes, satires, rhymed wit, posted in some public place, have for centuries been a peculiar and popular institution in Rome under the name of Pasquin. See Story's *Roba di Roma*, and Hare's *Walks in Rome*, for accounts of this form of satire. — *Bembo.* Pietro Bembo, 1470–1547, cardinal, scholar, grammarian, and restorer of Latin. See *Asolando* in this volume.

246. *Master Malpichi.* Probably Malpighi, 1628–1694, a professor of medicine in Bologna university, who was in 1691 summoned to Rome and appointed chief physician and chamberlain of Innocent XII.

290. *Theodoric.* The king of the Ostrogoths in the fifth century. — *Cassiodorus.* The prime minister of Theodoric, and a Latin writer on rhetoric and grammar, who wrote a history of the Goths. — *Scaliger.* The name of father and son, two famous scholars of the fifteenth century. The *Scaligerana* of the son, Joseph Justus Scaliger, is referred to by the poet. — *Idyllist.* Theocritus. — *Aelian.* A Latin writer of the third century, who wrote a miscellaneous history, and a work on the peculiarities of animals. Some critics have thought these works were written by different authors, and the poet refers to this discussion.

292. *Saint Jerome.* The great bishop of the fifth cen-

tury, the organizer of the Roman Church. — *Gregory smiles in his First Dialogue.* Gregory I., pope from 590 to 604, wrote dialogues which contained many accounts of miracles.

293. *St. Bernard.* Abbot of Clairvaux, 1091–1153.

390. *Valerius Maximus.* A Latin writer of the first century, whose *Exemplorum Memorabilium Libri Novem ad Tiberium Cæsarem Augustum* was devoted to auspicies, omens, prodigies, dreams, and miracles. — *Cyriacus.* An early Latin writer on law.

301. *Brazen Head.* In the Middle Ages there was a current belief that a brazen head could be made which would speak. It is said that Roger Bacon was occupied for seven years in the construction of such a head, which he expected would tell him how to put a wall of brass around Britain. It was expected that this head would speak within a month of its completion, but as no particular time was given Bacon set his man to watch. At the end of a half hour the head said 'Time is;' after another half hour, 'Time was;' and in still another, 'Time's past,' when it fell down with a crash and was shivered in pieces.

358. *Formosus.* Pope from 891 to 895. Stephen VI. or VII., who soon after succeeded him, was his political opponent, owing to a difference of opinion as to whether Arnulph or Lambert should be the emperor. Formosus favored Arnulph, and Stephen was on the side of Lambert. Stephen dug up the body of Formosus, put on his pontifical robes, seated him in the papal chair, addressed him as if he were alive, had him tried, and condemned him for unlawfully holding the papal chair. Romanus became pope in September, 897, and held the place for three months and twenty-two days. One writer says he annulled the acts of Stephen with reference to Formosus, and declared his proceedings unjust and illegal. The early writers do not make this statement. Stephen seems to have been driven from Rome and strangled in 896, for he was a bad and unjust man. Theodoric II. became pope in 898, and held the office for twenty days. He took the body of Stephen from the Tiber, where it had been thrown, declared his acts legal and valid, and had his body interred in the Vatican. John IX. followed Theodore in 898. He called a council at

Ravenna of seventy-four bishops, with Lambert, who declared legal a council previously held in Rome, that had annulled Stephen's acts against Formosus. Then came Sergius III. in 904–911, who had been kept from the papal chair for many years by John IX. This struggle of the popes grew out of a fierce effort to make the emperors their tools. — *Luitprand.* A chronicler of the period, who wrote of this conflict of the popes and emperors, and who said that "upon the dead body of Stephen being carried into the church it was saluted, as many Romans informed him, by all the Images of the Saints there."

391. *Tien.* The Chinese name for Heaven, in the sense of creator and revealer. — *Shang-ti.* An identical name with the Chinese for God, or the divine source of things.

395. *Paul answered Seneca.* A reference to the legend that Paul met Seneca in Rome, and that they corresponded with each other.

399. *Loyola.* The founder of the Jesuits or Society of Jesus.

424. *Vallombrosa.* The name of a famous convent and sanctuary near Florence. See Hare's *Cities of Italy* and Jameson's *Legends of the Monastic Orders.*

428. *Etruscan monster.* Browning frequently refers to the antiquities of ancient Etruria, which are scattered all through the region described in his poem. The region between Rome and Florence was the site of the race who preceded and were conquered by the Romans, and the remains of whose artistic genius are numerous and remarkable. They are described in many special works, and they have been curiously and systematically studied by recent antiquarians. Among the best books on the subject are Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, and Burton's *Etruscan Bologna.*

458. *Wormwood Star.* The star which the superstition of the Middle Ages thought appeared when death approached.

460. *Dogana.* Custom house. — *Palchetti.* Stage or scaffold.

In his *Stories from Browning* Mr. F. M. Holland turns the poem into a prose story. In her *Browning's Women* Miss Burt discusses the women of the poem in her seventh

and eighth chapters. *The Browning Society's Papers* give an essay by John Todhunter and discussion thereon, 1 : 85*; Kingsland's *Robert Browning : Chief Poet of the Age*, devotes some pages to this poem.

The following magazine articles are worthy of attention: *The Athenæum*, Dec. 26, 1868, and March 20, 1869, Robert Buchanan, revised and published in his *Master-Spirits*, 1873; *The Christian Examiner*, John W. Chadwick, 86 : 295; *Gentleman's Magazine*, James Thomson, 251 : 682; *St. Paul's Magazine*, E. J. Hasell, 7 : 257, 377; the same in *Littell's Living Age*, 108 : 771; *Macmillan's Magazine*, J. A. Symonds, 19 : 258, J. R. Mozley, 19 : 544; *North American Review*, 109 : 279; *The Nation*, 8 : 135; *St. James Magazine*, 23 : 460; *The Fortnightly Review*, John Morley, 11 : 331; *The Dublin Review*, 65 : 48; *The Edinburgh Review*, 130 : 164; *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 263, 309.

Roland. The horse in *How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix.*

Rosny. *Asolando*, 1889.

Rosny is a chateau on the river Loire, a little below Mantes, in western France. Although it is just outside of Normandy, it is described in Cassell's *Normandy : Its History, Antiquities, and Topography.* "Rosny is a little way out of Mantes to the west, down the river, and the historic chateau, built close to the stream, is one of the most interesting objects between Paris and Rouen. It is mentioned as early as 1080, when Raoul de Mauvoisin was seigneur of the domain. It afterwards passed into the house of the counts of Melun, and then, in 1529, to Jean de Bethune, grandfather of the great Sully. It continued in the family of this minister and his descendants till 1729, when it was purchased by the comte de Senozan. The larger part of the mansion was built by Courtin, a counselor of the Parliament in the reign of Henri III.; but Sully added to it, and he had not finished it in 1610, when his royal master and friend was assassinated. Many apartments are shown as connected with Henri IV.; in particular his bedroom. The whole is a grand and interesting specimen of the seventeenth century."

In Sully's *Memoirs*, of which there is an English translation, much is told about the chateau, for he lived in it dur-

ing his younger life, and his family occupied it during the civil wars. Here he was carried after the battle of Ivry, which was fought in the immediate neighborhood, severely wounded. He was met by Henri, who spent the night succeeding the battle at the chateau; and as he lay on his litter Henri dubbed him a knight for his faithful service. Dr. Furnivall, president of the London Browning Society, is of the opinion that Browning invented both the story and the location of the poem.

Rosamund Page. The young girl in *Martin Relph*, sentenced and shot for treason, whose innocence would have been proved by Vincent Parkes, her lover, had Martin but shouted to the soldiers to stay their guns until he could arrive on the scene.

Round us the wild creatures. The lyric following the first poem in *Ferishtah's Fancies* begins with these words.

Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli. *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842, appeared as I. under the general title of *Queen-Worship*, being called *Rudel and the Lady of Tripoli*. *Poems*, 1849, with present title; transferred to *Men and Women*, in *Poetical Works*, 1863.

Rudel was a Provençal troubadour, and lived in the twelfth century. He was a gentleman of Blieux in Provence, and was presented to Frederick Barbarossa in 1154. His early life was spent with Agoult, lord of Sault, a great Provençal lord, who patronized him as a poet of ability, though he is himself represented as being a prince by one of the old writers. Count Geoffrey, brother of Richard the Lion-hearted, was much pleased with Rudel. This was seen by Agoult, who transferred the poet to Geoffrey; and Rudel henceforth sang the praises of his two lords and masters, as one biographer expresses it. Rudel accompanied Geoffrey to England; but he left that Court in 1162 for the Holy Land.

The Crusaders who had returned from the East spread abroad wonderful reports of the beauty, learning, and wit of the countess of Tripoli, a small duchy lying on the Mediterranean, to the north of Palestine. The countess was of the house of Toulouse, and ruled her small country with success.

In the spirit of the time Rudel became enamored of this lady, although he had never seen her; and he sang of his love and her beauty in some of his best songs. The stories told of the hospitality, grace, and virtue of the countess inspired these songs, and made the poet indifferent to every other interest than his love for her. Before he started for the East he wrote a poem marked by refinement, simplicity, a slight obscurity, and frequent repetitions, which Sismondi prints in his *Literature of Southern Europe*, and which Thomas Roscoe translates into English.

ON DISTANT LOVE.

Angry and sad shall be my way,
If I behold not her afar,
And yet I know not when that day
Shall rise, for still she dwells afar.

God! who hast formed this fair array
Of worlds, and placed my love afar,
Strengthen my heart with hope, I pray,
Of seeing her I love afar.

O Lord! believe my faithful lay,
For well I love her though afar,
Though but one blessing may repay
The thousand griefs I feel afar.

No other love shall shed its ray
On me, if not this love afar,
A brighter one, where'er I stray
I shall not see, or near, or far.

Another poem to the countess is given in Rutherford's *Troubadours*, but without the original Provençal. This poem was written by Rudel immediately before setting out for the East.

"I love — a stranger to mine eyes,
One to mine ears unknown;
Who cannot listen to my sighs,
Nor breathe to me her own;
Yet do I feel, and would I swear,
That she is lovely, past compare.

"Beside my couch each night she seems
A blessed watch to keep;
Then I admire her in my dreams,
And love her in my sleep.
The morning comes and she takes flight;
A world divides her from my sight.

"That world I 'll cross to reach her gate,
And kneel her chair beside.
The journey must be fortunate
Since Love will be my guide.
And she shall know that, for her sake,
The pilgrim's staff and gown I take.

"Thrice happy if within her hall
She yield me shelter then!
Yea, I 'd content me as a thrall
Among the Saracen —
To breathe the air that round her spreads,
And tread the blessed ground she treads!

"It is resolved; I cross the tide,
I leave my native place;
O God, transport me to her side,
And let me see her face!
Grant me but life that I may tell
My tale to her I love so well!

"There shall the minstrels sing my song,
And some its sense explain;
A tale of love so strange and strong
She cannot hear in vain!
Ah, should her heart prove obdurate,
The fairies must have warped my fate!"

Geoffrey tried to persuade the poet not to undertake the journey to the East; but Rudel set out in a pilgrim's garb, taking with him as his companion an intimate friend and fellow troubadour, Bertrand d'Alamanon. On the voyage Rudel was attacked with a grievous malady, so that he was thought to be dead, and was near being thrown overboard. He revived, however, so that he reached the port of Tripoli. Then it was reported to the countess that he had arrived, and as his songs addressed to her had preceded him, she went on board the vessel where he was. When Rudel was told of her coming he revived, thanked her for her kindness, said she had restored him to life by her coming, and that he was willing to die having seen her. He died in her arms; she gave him a rich and honorable burial in a sepulchre of porphyry, on which she had verses engraved in the Arabic language. One account says the countess was never cheerful afterwards, and another that she became a nun. Rudel's companion told her of all the virtues of that poet, who left her his poems and romances, which she caused to be written out in fair gilt letters.

Another story is told of Rudel by Hueffer and Rutherford, in their books on the troubadours, which is much in the same spirit as this in connection with the countess of Tripoli. He went one day with two other troubadours to visit a great lady, who was much of a coquette, and who contrived to make each of the three believe that he had won her special favor. She looked Rudel sweetly in the face, another she gave a tender grasp of the hand, and the third she pressed gently on the foot. When they accidentally discovered the reception given them a long debate ensued as to who had received the highest favor; and this important question was referred to a great master of etiquette for settlement. This adventure is told in one of the best and longest of the poems of the troubadours.

See *Der Troubadour Jaufre Rudel, sein Leben und seine Werke*, by A. Stimming, Keil, 1873; also the French and German writers on the troubadours and Provençal poetry; in English, Sismondi, Fauriel, Hueffer, and Rutherford, but the last is not to be followed too closely; also W. C. Bryant's *Prose Works*, vol. i., essay on "Nostradamus's Provençal Poets." One of the most interesting accounts of Rudel is in Mrs. Jameson's *Loves of the Poets*.

St. John. Described in his last years, and in the manner of his death, in *A Death in the Desert*. In a cave in the desert St. John lies dying, hid in a time of terrible persecution, and surrounded by several of his faithful disciples. He rouses from a condition of lethargy and talks to his friends of Christ and the true faith.

St. Martin's Summer. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*, 1876.

Saul. The first nine stanzas were published in number seven of *Bells and Pomegranates*, called *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, 1845; and concluded with "(End of Part the First.)" The same appeared in the *Poems* of 1849. The last part was written in Rome in 1853–54. The second volume of *Men and Women*, 1855, contained the completed poem. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

This poem is based on 1 Samuel xvi. 14 – 23, where Saul is described as being troubled with an evil spirit, which David drives away by playing on his harp. David pre-

sents, in the poem, three series of motives to Saul, each series rising higher than the preceding.

I. Tunes played to the brutes.
   1. To the sheep, in v.
   2. To the quail, in vi.
   3. To the crickets, in vi.
   4. To the jerboa, in vi.

II. The help-tunes of the great epochs in human life.
   1. Reapers, in vii.
   2. Burial, in vii.
   3. Marriage, in vii.
   4. Soldiers, in vii.
   5. Priests, in vii.

III. Songs of human aspiration.
   1. The wild joys of living, in ix.
   2. The fame crowning ambition and deeds, in ix.
   3. The praise of unborn generations, in xiii.
   4. The next world's reward and repose, in xvii.
   5. The Love which is the Christ, in xviii.

Miss H. E. Hersey, in her edition of *Christmas Eve and Easter Day and Other Poems*, provides this poem with an introduction, notes, and a list of first readings. A chapter is devoted to the poem in J. T. Nettleship's *Robert Browning: Essays and Thoughts*. Corson, in his *Introduction*, gives brief comments and notes. *The Browning Society's Papers* gives an interpretation by Anna M. Stoddart, 2 : 264; discussion thereon, 2 : 264*; also paper and discussion, 1 : 80*. *Saul* was published by L. Prang & Co., Boston, 1890, with twenty full-page illustrations in the form of photogravures, by Frank O. Small.

The last four lines of the ninth section, which ended the first part in *Bells and Pomegranates*, were as follows, 1845 : —

> "On one head the joy and the pride, even rage like the throe
> That opes the rock, helps its glad labor, and lets the gold go —
> And ambition that sees a man lead it — oh, all of these — all
> Combine to unite in one creature — Saul!"

Sebald. The German, who has become the lover of Ottima, and with her has killed her husband, in *Pippa Passes*.

Selections. Browning made two series of selections from his own poems, and one from those of Mrs. Browning, that deserve to be noticed as indications of his own judgment on his minor poems, and because of the prefaces.

In 1866 Browning made a selection of the minor poems of Mrs. Browning, which was published by Chapman & Hall as *A Selection from the Poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*. He wrote for it the following preface: —

"It has been attempted to retain and to dispose the characteristics of the general poetry, whence this is an abstract, — according to an order which should allow them the prominency and effect they seem to possess when considered in the larger, not exclusively the lesser works of the poet. A musician might say, such and such chords are repeated, others made subordinate by distribution, so that a single movement may imitate the progress of the whole symphony. But there are various ways of modulating up to and connecting any given harmonies; and it will be neither a surprise nor a pain to find that better could have been done, as to both selection and sequence, than, in the present case, all care and the profoundest veneration were able to do.

"*London, November*, 1865. R. B."

The first of the two volumes of selections from his own poems bore this title-page: *Selections from the Poetical Works of Robert Browning*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place. 1872. Pages, i.–xii., 1–348. Dedicated to Alfred Tennyson. In Poetry — Illustrious and consummate: In Friendship — Noble and sincere.

The preface is an interesting indication of Browning's feeling about his own poetry: —

"In the present selection from my poetry, there is an attempt to escape from the embarrassment of appearing to pronounce upon what myself may consider the best of it. I adopt another principle; and by simply stringing together certain pieces on the thread of an imagined personality, I present them in succession, rather as the natural development of a particular experience than because I account them the most noteworthy portion of my work. Such an attempt was made in the volume of selections from the poetry of

Elizabeth Barrett Browning: to which — in outward uniformity, at least — my own would venture to become a companion.

"A few years ago, had such an opportunity presented itself, I might have been tempted to say a word in reply to the objections my poetry was used to encounter. Time has kindly coöperated with my disinclination to write the poetry and the criticism besides. The readers I am at last privileged to expect, meet me fully half-way; and if, from the fitting stand-point, they must still 'censure me in their wisdom,' they have previously 'awakened their senses that they may the better judge.' Nor do I apprehend any more charges of being willfully obscure, unconscientiously careless, or perversely harsh. Having hitherto done my utmost in the art to which my life is a devotion, I cannot engage to increase the effort; but I conceive that there may be helpful light, as well as reassuring warmth, in the attention and sympathy I gratefully acknowledge.

"*London, May* 14, 1872. R. B."

The contents of this volume are mainly the same as a volume of selections published in *Moxon's Miniature Poets*, 1865, which was probably made by Browning himself. They are as follows: My Star; A Face; My Last Duchess; Song from *Pippa Passes* (Give her but a least excuse); Cristina; Count Gismond; Eurydice to Orpheus; The Glove; Song (Nay but you); A Serenade at the Villa; Youth and Art; The Flight of the Duchess; Song from *Pippa Passes* (The year 's at the Spring); How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix; Song from *Paracelsus* (Heap cassia, sandal-buds and stripes); Through the Metidja to Abd-el-Kader; Incident of the French Camp; The Lost Leader; In a Gondola; A Lover's Quarrel; Earth's Immortalities; The Last Ride Together; Mesmerism; By the Fireside; Any Wife to Any Husband; In a Year; Song from James Lee (VII.); A Woman's Last Word; Meeting at Night; Parting at Morning; Women and Roses; Misconceptions; A Pretty Woman; A Light Woman; Love in a Life; Life in a Love; The Laboratory; Gold Hair; The Statue and the Bust; Love among the Ruins; Time's Revenges; Waring; Home

Thoughts, from Abroad; The Italian in England; The Englishman in Italy; Up at a Villa — Down in the City; Pietor Ignotus; Fra Lippo Lippi; Andrea del Sarto; The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church; A Toccata of Galuppi's; How it strikes a Contemporary; Protus; Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha; Abt Vogler; Two in the Campagna; "De Gustibus —"; The Guardian-Angel; Evelyn Hope; Memorabilia; Apparent Failure; Prospice; "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower came"; A Grammarian's Funeral; Cleon; Instans Tyrannus; An Epistle (Karshish); Caliban upon Setebos; Saul; Rabbi ben Ezra; Epilogue (to *Dramatis Personæ*).

The Second Series appeared with the following title-page: *Selections from the Poetical Works of Robert Browning.* Second Series. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place. 1880. Contents: A Wall; Apparitions; Natural Magic; Magical Nature; Garden Fancies, I., II.; In Three Days; The Lost Mistress; One Way of Love; Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli; Numpholeptos; Appearances; The Worst of it; Too Late; Bifurcation; A Likeness; May and Death; A Forgiveness; Cenciaja; Porphyria's Lover; Filippo Baldinucci on the Privilege of Burial; Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister (G-r-r); The Heretic's Tragedy; Holy-Cross Day; Amphibian; Saint Martin's Summer; James Lee's Wife; Respectability; Dîs Alitur Visum; Confessions; The Householder; Tray; Cavalier Tunes, I., II., III.; Before; After; Hervé Riel; In a Balcony; Old Pictures in Florence; Bishop Blougram's Apology; Mr. Sludge, "The Medium"; The Boy and the Angel; A Death in the Desert; Fears and Scruples; Artemis Prologizes; Pheidippides; The Patriot; Pisgah-Sights, 1, 2, 3; At the "Mermaid"; House; Shop; A Tale.

At about the time Browning wrote, in the preface to the First Series of *Selections*, that he did not apprehend any more charges of being willfully obscure, he wrote to a friend: "I can have little doubt that my writing has been in the main too hard for many I should have been pleased to communicate with; but I never designedly tried to puzzle people, as some of my critics have supposed. On the other hand, I never pretended to offer such literature as should be a substitute for a cigar or a game at domi-

noes to an idle man. So perhaps, on the whole, I get my deserts, and something over — not a crowd, but a few I value more."

Much to the same effect is the letter which Browning wrote to Mr. Edmund Yates, on the occasion of the formation of the Browning Society in London: "The Browning Society, I need not say, as well as Browning himself, are fair game for criticism. I had no more to do with the founding of it than the babe unborn; and, as Wilkes was no Wilkesite, I am quite other than a Browningite. But I cannot wish harm to a society of, with a few exceptions, names unknown to me, who are busied about my books so disinterestedly. The exaggerations probably come of the fifty-years'-long charge of unintelligibility against my books; such reactions are possible, though I never looked for the beginning of one so soon. That there is a grotesque side to the thing is certain; but I have been surprised and touched by what cannot but have been well intentioned, I think. Anyhow, as I never felt inconvenienced by hard words, you will not expect me to wax bumptious because of undue compliment: so enough of 'Browning,' — except that he is yours very truly, 'while this machine is to him.'"

Serenade at the Villa. A. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Setebos. The god of Caliban, in *Caliban upon Setebos*, "who dwelleth in the cold of the moon," and who is subordinate to the great Quiet.

Shah Abbas. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

Shah Abbas, called The Great, was the ruler of Persia from 1584 until his death in 1628. He conquered the Turks in 1605, and thereby added to his possessions. He was a man of ability and great energy of character. In this poem his name is used fictitiously, for it is not historical that he did what is here attributed to him. — *Zal* is a character in the *Shah Nameh*, as is also *Tahmasp*; but the story told of the latter is fictitious. — *Ishak son of Absal* is a fictitious character, the invention of the poet. — A *Mubid* is a Persian magician. These men are frequently mentioned in the *Shah Nameh*.

Shop. *Pacchiarotto, with other Poems*, 1876.

Intended as a companion poem to *House*, and shows why literature should not be pursued for money-making.

Sibrandus Schafnaburgensis. See *Garden Flowers.*

Sighed Rawdon Brown. Mr. Rawdon Brown was an Englishman who went to Venice on some temporary errand, and lived there for forty years, dying in that city in the summer of 1883. He had an enthusiastic love for Venice, and is mentioned in books of travel as one who knew the city thoroughly. His love was described in a sonnet written by Browning at the request of Mrs. Brownson, who published it in *The Century* for February, 1884, with Browning's permission. It was reprinted in number five of *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 132*. The Venetian saying means that "everybody follows his taste and I follow mine." Toni was the gondolier and attendant of Brown. The inscription on Brown's tomb is given in the third and fourth lines.

"Tutti ga i so gusti, e mi go i mii."
(*Venetian saying.*)

Sighed Rawdon Brown: "Yes. I 'm departing, Toni!
I needs must, just this once before I die,
Revisit England: *Anglus* Brown am I,
Although my heart 's Venetian. Yes, old crony —
Venice and London — London 's 'Death the bony'
Compared with Life — that 's Venice! What a sky,
A sea, this morning! One last look! Good-bye,
Cà Pesaro! No, lion — I 'm a coney
To weep! I 'm dazzled; 't is that sun I view
Rippling the . . . the . . . *Cospetto*, Toni! Down
With carpet-bag, and off with valise-straps!
Bella Venezia, non ti lascio più!"
Nor did Brown ever leave her: well, perhaps
Browning, next week, may find himself quite Brown!
Nov. 28, '83.

Sir De Lorge. In *The Glove*, the knight in the Court of Francis I. of France, who, when his lady drops her glove among the lions, risks his life to hand it back to her, and then rejects her love.

Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister. Published in *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842. It there appeared as follows: "Camp and Cloister. I. Camp (French). II. Cloister (Spanish)." The first of these poems was subsequently published as *Incident of the French Camp;* and the second as the *Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister;* they so appeared in the *Poems* of

1849. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 the *Soliloquy* was printed as III. of *Garden Fancies*, among the *Lyrics*. In the *Poetical Works* of 1868 it appeared by itself among the *Dramatic Lyrics;* and it has held that place since.

The poem is based on no special incident; but it gives a very correct picture of cloister life as Browning must have come to know of it in his extensive reading, especially of cloister life in the Middle Ages. The *Great text in Galatians* refers to chapter v. 19–21, which mentions "the works of the flesh," which are seventeen as Paul enumerates them. The French use *trente-six* for any moderately large number, and Browning uses "twenty-nine" in this sense.

Song: Nay but you who do not love her. First published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868. This song has been set to music by E. C. Gregory; London, Novello, Ewer & Co.

Solomon and Balkis. *Jocoseria*, 1883.

The Balkis of Arabian and Mohammedan legend is the Queen of Sheba, described in 1 Kings x. 2, and 2 Chronicles ix. 1. One set of legends say the queen who visited Solomon from the south was from Abyssinia, that she came from Meroë, that her name was Makeda, and that she bore a son to Solomon. The Arabic legends make Sheba to be Sabaea, they call the queen Balkis, and they make her a woman of great wit and wisdom. She was quite the equal of Solomon in the answering of riddles, for that comprised a large part of his great wisdom. The dark sayings of the wise, as the writer of Proverbs calls them, formed a favorite amusement of Solomon, and fame has given him the greatest skill in untangling them. It is said by legend that he carried on these contests with the riddle daily with Hiram of Tyre, and that he was the victor until Hiram found a Tyrian boy who could outwit even the wise Solomon.

The legend of Balkis has been drawn out to great length in the Rabbinical writings and in Mohammedan story. Especially in the Mohammedan legends which have grown up out of the *Old Testament* narratives has Balkis found a prominent place. As she is there found she is a person of much importance, and marvelous are the tales told of her. These accounts have been collected by Weil in his

Biblische Legende. Some idea of them may be had from Baring-Gould's *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets*, and Stanley's *History of the Jewish Church.*

According to legend, when Balkis sent five hundred boys and girls to Solomon dressed exactly alike, he guessed their sex by the manner in which they washed their hands. When she asked for water that came neither from heaven nor earth he sent a huge slave to race a horse about the court until the perspiration poured from him, and this the slave collected in the goblet to be filled. When she sent him natural and artificial flowers so nearly alike no one could detect the true flowers. Solomon opened the window to permit the bees to come in to decide for him.

Browning attempts to report what may be "supposed" to have been the conversation between these two when Solomon answered "all the questions" of Balkis, as he is said to have done by the writer of the Book of Kings. The conversation is not historical, and it is not even drawn from the legends.

In Polano's *Selections from the Talmud* is the following account of the visit of the queen of Sheba to Solomon: —

"All the kingdoms congratulated Solomon as the worthy successor of his father, David, whose fame was great among the nations; all save one, the kingdom of Sheba, the capital of which was called Kitore. To this kingdom Solomon sent a letter: 'From me, King Solomon, peace to thee and to thy government. Let it be known to thee that the Almighty God has made me to reign over the whole earth, the kingdoms of the North, the South, the East, and the West. Lo, they have come to me with their congratulations, all save thee alone. Come thou also, I pray thee, and submit to my authority, and much honor shall be done thee; but if thou refusest, behold, I shall by force compel thy acknowledgment. To thee, Queen Sheba, is addressed this letter in peace from me, King Solomon, the son of David.'

"Now when Queen Sheba received this letter, she sent in haste for her elders and counselors to ask their advice as to the nature of her reply. They spoke but lightly of the message and of the one who sent it; but the queen did not regard their words. She sent a vessel carrying many presents of different metals, minerals, and precious stones,

to Solomon. It was after a voyage of two years' time that these presents arrived at Jerusalem, and in a letter intrusted to the captain the queen said, 'After thou hast received the message then I myself will come to thee.' [In the Mohammedan legends the account of this embassy is much more extended; and it was in pursuance of the instructions of the queen that Solomon was tested at this time, in the manner already mentioned, as to the sex of five hundred boys and girls, and as to whether he could procure water that came neither from heaven nor earth.] And in two years after this time Queen Sheba arrived at Jerusalem.

"When Solomon heard that the queen was coming he sent Benayahu, the son of Yehoyadah, the general of his army, to meet her. When the queen saw him she thought he was the king, and she alighted from her carriage. Then Benayahu asked, 'Why alightest thou from thy carriage?' And she answered, 'Art thou not his majesty, the king?' 'No,' replied Benayahu, 'I am but one of his officers.' Then the queen turned back and said to her ladies in attendance, 'If this is but one of the officers, and he is so noble and imposing in appearance, how great must be his superior, the king.' And Benayahu, the son of Yehoyadah, conducted Queen Sheba to the palace of the king.

"Solomon prepared to receive his visitor in an apartment laid and lined with glass, and the queen at first was so deceived by the appearance that she imagined the king to be sitting in water. And when the queen had tested Solomon's wisdom [by means of riddles and display of wit], and witnessed his magnificence, she said: 'I believed not what I heard, but now I have come, and my eyes have seen it all; behold, the half has not been told me. Happy are thy servants who stand before thee continually to listen to thy words of wisdom. Blessed be the Lord thy God, who hath placed thee on a throne to rule righteously and in justice.' When other kingdoms heard the words of the queen of Sheba they feared Solomon exceedingly, and he became greater than all the other kings of the earth in wisdom and in wealth."

In Jami's *Salámán and Absal*, as translated by Edward Fitzgerald, the legend of Solomon and Balkis is treated as follows: —

"Once upon the Throne together
Telling one another Secrets
Sate Sulaymán and Balkis;
The Hearts of both were turn'd to Truth,
Unsullied by Deception.
First the King of Faith Sulaymán
Spoke — 'However just and wise
Reported, none of all the many
Suitors to my palace thronging
But afar I scrutinize;
And He who comes not empty-handed
Grows to Honor in mine Eyes.'
After this, Balkis a Secret
From her hidden bosom utter'd,
Saying — 'Never night or morning
Comely Youth before me passes
Whom I look not after, longing.'"

There is no reason for supposing that Solomon spoke Greek, as Browning makes him do. The word *conster* means construe, and is frequently to be found in Shakespeare and early English writers. The conversation of the poem contains an amount of humor such as does not appear in the Talmudic or other legends.

Sonnet. The several poems contributed by Browning to *The Monthly Repository*, edited by W. J. Fox, were all reprinted by him with one exception, which appeared in 1834, New Series, vol. viii. p. 712. This sonnet is reprinted *verbatim* in *The Browning Society's Papers*, part xii.: —

"Eyes, calm beside thee. (Lady could'st thou know!)
May turn away thick with fast-gathering tears:
I glance not where all gaze: thrilling and low
Their passionate praises reach thee — my cheek wears
Alone no wonder when thou passest by;
Thy tremulous lids bent and suffused reply
To the irrepressible homage which doth glow
On every lip but mine: if in thine ears
Their accents linger — and thou dost recall
Me as I stood, still, guarded, very pale,
Beside each votarist whose lighted brow
Wore worship like an aureole, 'O'er them all
'My beauty,' thou wilt murmur, 'did prevail
'Save that one only:' — Lady could'st thou know!
August 17, 1834. Z."

Sordello. This poem was begun in 1836, and was then laid aside in order to write *Strafford*. It was published by Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1840. Pages, i.–iv., 1–253,

post 8vo. Reprinted in *Poetical Works*, 1863, in revised form, with dedication to J. Milsand, which has been retained in all subsequent editions.

The severest charges of obscurity were brought against the poem as at first published. One of these is given in Thomas Powell's *Living Authors of England* in the following form: "Douglas Jerrold was recruiting himself at Brighton after a long illness. In the progress of his convalescence a parcel arrived from London, which contained, among other things, this new volume of *Sordello;* the medical attendant had forbidden Mr. Jerrold the luxury of reading, but owing to the absence of his conjugal 'life guards' he indulged in the illicit enjoyment. A few lines put Jerrold in a state of alarm. Sentence after sentence brought no consecutive thought to his brain. At last the idea crossed his mind that in his illness his mental faculties had been wrecked. The perspiration rolled from his forehead, and smiting his head, he sat down in his sofa, crying, 'O God, I *am* an idiot!' When his wife and sister came, they were amused by his pushing the volume into their hands, and demanding what they thought of it. He watched them intently while they read — at last his wife said: 'I don't understand what the man means; it is gibberish.' The delighted humorist sank in his seat again: 'Thank God, I am *not* an idiot.' Mr. Browning, to whom we told this, has often laughed over it, and then endeavored to show that *Sordello* was the clearest and most simple poem in the English language." This experience it was, perhaps, which made Jerrold say of Browning's style, that he "wrote Greek in shorthand."

It has been reported that Tennyson said that he could understand only the first and last lines of the poem, and that they were both lies. "My wife," wrote Carlyle, "has read through *Sordello* without being able to make out whether Sordello was a man, or a city, or a book."

Such criticisms as these, and others of a similar character, which were put into print, led Browning to consider the advisability of rewriting the poem, with the object of making it more comprehensible. He finally decided that this could not be done to his own satisfaction; but he carefully revised it, rewriting lines here and there, and he summa-

rized the contents of the poem in a continuous series of headlines, which give the main thread of the story. In the dedication to the revised edition Browning refers to the criticisms, and to his thought of rewriting the poem: "I wrote it twenty-five years ago for only a few, counting even in these on somewhat more care about its subject than they really had. My own faults of expression were many; but with care for a man or book such would be surmounted, and without it what avails the faultlessness of either? I blame nobody, least of all myself, who did my best then and since; for I lately gave time and pains to turn my work into what the many might — instead of what the few must — like; but after all, I imagined another thing at first, and therefore leave as I find it." Concerning the revised edition Browning wrote to a friend, protesting against the statement that he had rewritten the poem, or that he had made any essential change in it: —

"I do not understand what —— can mean by saying that Sordello has been 'rewritten.' I did certainly at one time intend to rewrite much of it, but changed my mind, — and the edition which I reprinted was the same in all respects as its predecessors — only with an elucidatory heading to each page, and some few alterations, presumably for the better, in the text, such as occur in most of my works. I cannot remember a single instance of any importance that is rewritten, and I only suppose that —— has taken project for performance, and set down as 'done' what was for a while intended to be done."

In the sixth canto of Dante's *Purgatorio* Sordello appears, and is made the guide of Virgil and his companion. The shade of Sordello is described as being silent and watchful: —

"Nothing whatever did it say to us,
But let us go our way, eyeing us only
After the manner of a couchant lion;
Still near to it Virgilius drew, entreating
That it would point us out the best ascent;
And it replied not unto his demand,
But of our native land and of our life
It questioned us; and the sweet Guide began:
'Mantua,' — and the shade, all in itself recluse,
Rose tow'rds him from the place where first it was,

> Saying: 'O Mantuan, I am Sordello
> Of thine own land!' and one embraced the other.
> . . . . . .
> That noble soul was so impatient, only
> At the sweet sound of his own native land,
> To make its citizen glad welcome there."

Dante thus honors Sordello because that poet had preceded him in the attempt to establish a vernacular Italian speech as a medium of literary expression. For the same cause he described Sordello in his *De Vulgari Eloquio* as "a man so choice in his language, that not only in his poems, but in whatever way he spoke, he abandoned the dialect of his province." Sordello lived during the first part of the thirteenth century, and he was a poet, a troubadour, a soldier by profession, and a politician of some ability. Little is now known about him, and that little is much obscured by tradition and legend. It is probable that two persons have in some way been mixed together in the accounts given of him. One of these persons was a poet, and the other was a man of action and political intrigue.

Browning evidently studied whatever was written about Sordello by the chroniclers; but he has not undertaken to unriddle the biographical difficulties which surround his name. Whatever would best serve his purpose in the traditions he has used; but he has not tried to be consistent with historical probability. He makes Sordello the supposed son of an archer, El Corte by name, and he has been brought up at the castle of Goïto, by Adelaide, the wife of Eccelin of Romano. In the first book the life of Sordello at Goïto is described; and his failure as a troubadour is set forth in the second. In the third book Sordello journeys to Verona, and Palma declares her love for him. He then becomes her minstrel and her devoted lover. In the fourth book the horrors of civil war are described, and their effect on Sordello in making him desert the Ghibelline cause, which had the devotion of his lady love. The fifth book discloses the true birth of Sordello, and he finds his father in Salinguerra, the great Ghibelline chief and politician. Through his connection with Palma it is now made possible for Sordello to become the head of all of Northern Italy. The last book shows him struggling between the ambition of leadership, which he can now gratify, and the conviction of his heart

that the popular cause is the true one and the one he ought to support. At last he makes the sacrifice ; but the attempt is too much for him, and he dies before it is fairly accomplished.

In her little book on *Sordello*, Mrs. Caroline H. Dall has given the fullest account yet published in English of what there is that may be known about the poet, as his history is told by Italian writers. Her historical account of Sordello is founded on materials discovered by her in the library of the Canadian Parliament, both printed books and manuscripts. These have since been burned, and are said to have belonged to one of the early Jesuit explorers.

"In Aliprando's fabulous *History of Milan* we find long stories of Sordello, borrowed, doubtless, from still older sources, and stealing out of his verses into the solemn Latin prose of Platina's *History of Mantua*. There we are told that Sordello was born into the Visconti family, at Goïto, in Mantua, in 1189. A mere boy, he startled the world of letters by a poem, called *Trésor*. That of arms did not open to him till he was twenty-five, when he distinguished himself, not only by bravery and address, but by a dignity and grace of manner the first glimpse of his slight figure hardly promised. He was conqueror in scores of tilts, and vanquished foreigners went back to France to proclaim his chivalry to that court.

"Then Louis wanted him, and Sordello was hastening across the Alps, when Eccelin da Romano called him to Verona. Here his young life was made wretched by Beatrice, sister of Eccelin. Prayers, tears, and swoons, however, did not prevent him from seeking in Mantua a refuge from an intrigue unworthy of his honor. She followed him to Mantua, disguised as a page, and in the end became his wife. A few days after the wedding, to which it can hardly be said that he consented, the Troubadour very naturally remembered that King Louis needed him. Partly at court, and partly at the ancient French city of Troyes, his valor, his gallantry, and his sweet verses won all hearts. Louis made him a chevalier, and gave him three thousand francs and a golden falcon. On his return, the Italian cities met him, one after the other, with stately congratulation, the Mantuans coming in a crowd to greet him. In 1229 he joined

his wife at Padua, and that city celebrated his return by a whole week of festivity. From 1250 to 1253 the brother of Beatrice, Eccelin da Romano, besieged Mantua. At the last the unwilling husband led the people out, and in the fray that followed Eccelin perished.

"But this graceful story could not have been true. At the time when it asserts that Sordello went into France, there was no Louis — only a Philip Augustus — on the throne. The siege of Mantua did not begin till 1256, and Eccelin died in 1259. His sister's real name was Cuniza. Perhaps Sordello told some such story of himself in one of the dancing rhymes he sung by the camp-fire. Very soon did such songs turn into history.

"Rolandino, a Latin historian, born in Padua in the year 1200, and therefore a contemporary, mentions the matter differently. 'Cuniza, wife of Richard of St. Boniface, and sister of Eccelin da Romano, was stolen from her husband,' he says, 'by one Sordello, who was of the same family.' The ambiguity of this last phrase perplexed Tiraboschi, but would hardly deserve our attention if it had not furnished a hint for the modern poem. In Browning's hands, Sordello is no guilty troubadour, but the unwitting victim of political schemers, held as a hostage by his ambitious enemy, and that enemy a woman. Palma takes the place of Cuniza, but with no dishonor to her family. Rolandino adds that the pair took refuge with the father of Cuniza, who finally drove them forth in disgrace.

"Dante, however, had something to say of Sordello which Browning has remembered. At the entrance of Purgatory, in a spot where the impenitent mingle with those who have died a violent death, Virgil meets Sordello. 'O Mantuan!' he cries, 'I am Sordello, born in thy land.' Dante here attributes to him 'the lion's glance and port,' and in his treatise *De Vulgari Eloquio*, says that Sordello excelled in all kinds of composition, and that he helped to form the Tuscan tongue by some happy attempts which he made in the dialects of Cremona, Brescia, and Verona, cities not far removed from Mantua. He also speaks of a 'Goïto Mantuan,' who was the author of many good songs, and who left in every stanza an unmatched line which he called the key; and this singer Tiraboschi thinks is our Troubadour.

"Benvenuto d' Imola, a commentator on Dante, of the fourteenth century, says, in a note to the sixth canto of the *Purgatorio:* 'Sordello was a native of Mantua, an illustrious and skillful warrior, and an accomplished courtier. This chevalier lived in the time of Eccelin da Romano, whose sister conceived for him so violent a passion that she often had him brought to her apartments by a private way. Informed of this intrigue, Eccelin disguised himself as a servant, and surprised the unfortunate poet, who promised on his knees not to repeat the offense. But,' continues Benvenuto in forcible Latin, 'the cursed Cuniza dragged him anew into perdition. He was naturally grave, virtuous, and prudent. To withdraw himself from Eccelin he fled, but was pursued and assassinated.'

"Benvenuto attributes to Sordello a Latin work, *Thesaurus Thesaurorum;* and if such a work ever existed we understand the sympathy with which the Troubadour embraced the knees of Virgil, 'O Glory of the Latins,' etc. Dante, at all events, thought of him as a patriot, and his outburst over the meeting colors the modern poem. That his poems were more philosophical than amatory was a still further appeal to the sympathy of the Florentine."

Still another account of Sordello is that given by Quadrio, in his *Storia d' ogni Poesia*, who says: "Sordello, native of Goïto (Sordel de Goi), a village in the Mantuan territory, was born in 1184, and was the son of a poor knight named Elcort. . . . Having afterwards returned to Italy, he governed Mantua with the title of regent and captain-general, and was opposed to the tyrant Ezzelino, being a great lover of justice, as Agnelli writes. Finally he died, very old and full of honor, about 1280. He wrote not only in Provençal, but also in our own common Italian tongue; and he was one of those poets who avoided the dialect of his own province, and used the good, choice language, as Dante affirms in his book of *De Vulgari Eloquio.*"

Commenting on the accounts given of Sordello, Millot, in his *History of the Literature of the Troubadours*, says: "According to Agnelli and Platina, historians of Mantua, he was of the house of Visconti of that city; valiant in deeds of arms, famous in jousts and tournaments, he won the love of Beatrice, daughter of Ezzelin de Romano, Lord

of the Marca Trevigiana, and married her; he governed Mantua as podestà and captain-general, and though son-in-law of the tyrant Ezzelin, he always opposed him, being a great lover of justice. We find these facts cited by Crescimbeni, who says that Sordello was the lord of Goïto; but as they are not applicable to our poet, we presume they refer to a warrior of the same name, and perhaps of a different family. Among the pieces of Sordello, thirty-four in number, there are some fifteen songs of gallantry, though Nostradamus says that all his pieces turn only upon philosophical subjects."

The French historians give a somewhat different account of Sordello, and they especially dwell upon his character as a troubadour. Nostradamus, in his *Lives of the Provençal Poets*, says: "Sordello was a Mantuan poet, who surpassed in Provençal song Calvo, Folchetto of Marseilles, Lanfranco Cicala, Percival Doria, and all the other Genoese and Tuscan poets, who took far greater delight in our Provençal tongue, on account of its sweetness, than in their own maternal language. This poet was very studious, and exceedingly eager to know all things, and as much as any one of his nation excellent in learning as well as in understanding and in prudence. He wrote several beautiful songs, not indeed of love, for not one of that kind is found among his works, but on philosophic subjects. Raymond Belinghieri, the last Count of Provence of that name, in the last days of his life (the poet being then but fifteen years of age) on account of the excellence of his poetry and the rare invention shown in his productions took him into his service, as Pietro di Castelnuovo, himself a Provençal poet, informs us. He also wrote various satires in the same language, and among others one in which he reproves all the Christian princes; and it is composed in the form of a funeral song on the death of Blancasso."

The poem thus mentioned by Nostradamus is translated by William Cullen Bryant in his article on "Nostradamus's Provençal Poets," now published in the first volume of his *Prose Works:* —

> "I mourn for my Lord Blachas, I weep that he is dead,
> That the noblest, bravest spirit of this coward age is fled;
> We cannot call it back, but will keep his generous heart,
> And the craven lords of Europe shall each receive a part.

Let the Emperor partake, if he would triumph o'er
The Pope and the Milanese, whose armies press him sore,
And give the King of France, that youthful king, his share,
That he may get Castile again, the gem he used to wear.
But since, within the Council, another rules than he,
Let him take especial care his mother does not see.
Give largely to the English King, and he may think, perchance,
Of winning back the fair, broad lands that he has lost in France.
The monarch of Castile, let him take enough for two,
For to keep the remnant of his realm is what he scarce can do;
But secretly and slyly let him receive his share,
Lest Portugal should come in wrath and pull his royal hair.
Let him of Aragon partake as largely as he will,
That he may clear from foul disgrace his courage and his skill,
When leading all his hosts, he came, with furious heat,
To seize Marseilles and storm Milan, and shamefully was beat.

"Give freely to Navarre, that lily-livered thing,
Who was a tolerable count, but makes a sorry king.
And to the Count of Toulouse, that he may see at length
How warlike hands have lopped his realm and hewn away his strength,
How at the very sacred hour, when tolled the vesper-bell,
By thousands, in the bloody streets, the sons of Provence fell."

Raynouard, in his *Poetry of the Troubadours*, tells the story of Sordello's life in a way of his own: "Sordello was a Mantuan of Sirier, son of a poor knight whose name was Sir El Cort. And he delighted in learning songs and in making them, and wrote love-songs and satires. And he came to the court of the Count of Saint Boniface, and the Count honored him greatly, and by way of pastime he fell in love with the wife of the Count, and she with him. And it happened that the Count quarreled with her brothers, and became estranged from her; and her brothers, Sir Icellis and Sir Albrics, persuaded Sir Sordello to run away with her, and he came to live with them in great content. And afterwards he went into Provence and received great honor from all good men, and from the Count and Countess, who gave him a good castle and a gentlewoman for his wife."

In his *History of French Literature*, Emeric-David comes to the conclusion that Sordello was not a troubadour, and that in reality he was the old podestà of Mantua of whom Dante sang. In his *History of Italian Literature*, Tiraboschi devotes sixteen solid pages to Sordello, but is not able to decide who he was.

Mrs. Dall continues her account of Sordello by saying

that "Giambattista d'Arco attributes to Sordello several historical translations out of Latin into the vulgar tongue, and an original treatise on *The Defense of Walled Towns.* Tiraboschi, who had access to a very large number of manuscripts, rejects most of these splendid stories. According to him, Sordello was a Mantuan, born in Goïto, at the very close of the twelfth century. He went into Provence, but not when a boy. He eloped with the wife of his friend, Count Boniface; he was of noble family, and a warrior, but never a captain-general nor a governor of Mantua. He died a violent death, about the middle of the thirteenth century, but in 1281 he would have been a hundred years old! . . .

"None of the prose translations, nor any poems written by Sordello in the Tuscan tongue, survive. His verses in the Provençal are all that remain to vindicate his genius. Thirty-four pieces, for the most part gallant songs, challenge the statement of Nostradamus, that he was devoted to philosophy. Two have been translated by Millot. The refrain of the first is —

> "'Alas! of what use to have eyes
> If they gaze not on her I desire?'

It is written in very pure taste. The second is a more ordinary affair. Three of the pieces are of the sort called *tensons*, that is, dialogues. One discusses the duty of a bereaved lover. The second compares the pursuit of knightly feats with the delights of love, and weighs the satisfactions of each. The third discusses 'the bad faith of princes;' a subject which he renews in an epistle addressed to St. Boniface. We should have had but a poor opinion of his mettle were this epistle the only testimony to it; for he begs to be excused from joining the crusaders! He is in no haste, he says, to enter on eternal life.

"His other poems are *sirventes.* Many of them attack the troubadour Vidal. In these, threats mingle with insults, which become gross as soon as they are translated. Some, which relate to the moral and political aspects of his own time, merit our attention, and doubtless have furnished Browning with more than one pungent line. In one the poet scoffs at those who, under pretext of extirpating heretical Albigenses, have banded together to despoil Raymond, count of Toulouse. The satire in which he entreats this

prince not to submit to insult or rapine must have been written in 1228; because it speaks of the absolution just received by Raymond VII.

"His best poem is his lament for Blacas, a Spanish troubadour of remarkable personal courage. It is a satire, and sovereign princes are urged to share between them the heart of the hero. 'Let the emperor eat first of it,' says the song, 'that he may recover what the Milanese have taken! Let the noble king of France eat of it, that he may regain Castile! but it must be when his mother is not looking!' This king of France was probably Louis IX., and the verses must have been written in the ten years preceding 1236.

"The best of Sordello's verses show a dignity of composition and purity of taste which put him in the very front rank of the Provençals. His great hold on posterity consists in the fact that he preceded Dante in the classic use of the vulgar tongue."

Rutherford, in his book on the *Troubadours*, translates two or three of the poems of Sordello. One of these is a *sirvente*, in which the poet expressed his dislike of the cloistral life.

"To whom shall now our songs be sung?
Our passion now be said?
As if their funeral knell were rung,
We count them with the dead.

"Alas! and must we, Count of mine,
Our souls to sorrow give!
Since wanting those yon cells confine,
It is not life to live.

"Ah! never more shall their sweet tones,
My Count, delight our ears;
They now are chanting orisons,
While we are shedding tears!

"But, wherefore do we mourning stand?
And what do tears avail?
'T were better far, with armed hand,
Their prison to assail.

"My Count, let 's fire the place at once,
And burn it, cells and towers,
And thus unshrine the vile St. Pons,
Who robs us of our flowers.

"In vain! in vain! No human hand
May snatch them from their fate!
They pine among the cloistered band,
And we are desolate."

Another of these poems is a *tenson*, in which Sordello holds a poetic discussion with Montan on the importance of truthfulness in princes.

SORDEL.

I marvel that a prince's hand can contradict his tongue,
And that his words shall all be right, while all his deeds are wrong.
To noble promises should deeds as noble still accord,
Or men may stigmatize who speaks with one short, ugly word.

MONTAN.

I marvel not, too much it costs generous to be and just,
For princely praise to swell the speech of those who princes trust;
Yet would the folly me amaze in any but a prince,
That thinks a handsome falsehood may good service recompense.

SORDEL.

I would, my Montan, that to all this maxim we could teach,
Never to promise aught but that which lies within their reach —
Who ready shows to promise all, that man his honor slights;
And lies should be accounted shame in princes as in knights.

A passage from one of Sordello's poems is translated by Mr. Holland, in his *Stories from Browning* : —

"I love a lady, fair without a peer,
Serve her I 'd rather, though she ne'er requite
My love, than give myself to other dames,
However richly they might pay their knight.
Requite me not? Nay. He who serves a dame
Whose honor, grace, and virtue shine like day,
Can do no service which the very joy
Of doing doth not bounteously repay.
For other recompense I will not pine,
But should it come, her pleasure still is mine."

A *tenson* rendered remarkable by the way in which one of the disputants contradicted his own arguments by his subsequent action was held between Guilhelm de la Tor and Sordello. "There is a lover," said the former, "who has a cherished mistress; he sees her expire before his face; should he die with her or survive her?" Sordello replied that "when death had divided a loving couple, it was better for the one who had been so bereaved to follow the other to the tomb than to remain on earth in agony and despair."

To this la Tor responded, that "the dead could gain nothing by the sacrifice of the living, and that it could not be right to do that from which no good, but much evil, would result." La Tor did, however, as Sordel had advised when he came to lose the mistress of his heart. Guilhelm de la Tor fell in love with the wife of a barber, who deserted her husband for him; but she died of a pestilence a few months later. He remained on her tomb day and night, which he opened every night to see if she were not feigning, until his strange conduct caused the people to turn him out of the city. When some prescribed a hard remedy which it was promised would restore his wife to him, la Tor tried it faithfully for a year, and then died of grief.

In his *Literature of Southern Europe* Sismondi says that the poet has always been a hero to his biographer. "No one has experienced this good fortune in an equal degree with Sordello of Mantua, whose real merit consists in the harmony and sensibility of his verses. He was among the first to adopt the ballad-form of writing, and in one of those, which has been translated by Millot (into French) he beautifully contrasts, in the burden of his ballad, the gayeties of Nature and the ever-reviving grief of a heart devoted to love. Sordel, or Sordello, was born at Goito, near Mantua, and was, for some time, attached to the house of Count St. Boniface, the chief of the Guelph party, in the March of Trevise. He afterwards passed into the service of Raymond Berenger, the last Count of Provence of the house of Barcelona. Although a Lombard, he had adopted, in his compositions, the Provençal language, and many of his countrymen imitated him. It was not, at that time, believed that the Italian was capable of becoming a polished language. The age of Sordello was that of the most brilliant chivalric virtues and the most atrocious crimes. He lived in the midst of heroes and monsters. The imagination of the people was still haunted by the recollection of the ferocious Ezzelino, tyrant of Verona, with whom Sordello is said to have had a contest, and who was probably often mentioned in his verses. The historical monuments of this reign of blood were, however, little known, and the people mingled the name of their favorite with every revolution which excited their terror. It was

said that he had carried off the wife of the Count of St. Boniface, the sovereign of Mantua, that he had married the daughter or sister of Ezzelino, and that he had fought this monster with glory to himself. He united, according to popular report, the most brilliant military exploits to the most distinguished poetical genius. By the voice of St. Louis himself, he had been recognized, at a tourney, as the most valiant and gallant of knights; and at last the sovereignty of Mantua had been bestowed upon this noblest of the poets and warriors of his age. Histories of credit have collected, three centuries after Sordello's death, these brilliant fictions, which are, however, disproved by the testimony of contemporary writers. The reputation of Sordello is owing, very materially, to the admiration which has been expressed for him by Dante. . . . Sainte-Palaye has collected thirty-four poems of Sordello's; fifteen of these are love-songs, and some of them are written in a pure and delicate style. Amongst the other pieces is a funeral eulogium on the Chevalier de Blacas, an Aragonese troubadour, whose heart, Sordello says, shouldst be divided amongst all the monarchs in Christendom, to supply them with the courage of which they stand in need. At the same time we find among the compositions of Sordello some pieces little worthy of the admiration which has been bestowed upon his personal character, and not altogether in accordance with the delicacy of a knight and a troubadour. In one he speaks of his success in his amours with a kind of coarse complacency, very far removed from the devotion which was due to the sex from every cavalier."

The suggestion of Sismondi, that Sordello gained whatever reputation he possesses because of the notice given him by Dante, is confirmed by Church, in his *Dante and Other Essays*, where he says of the Mantuan poet: "He was plainly a distinguished person in his time, a cunning craftsman in the choice and use of language; but if this was all, his name would only rank with a number of others, famous in their time, but under the cloud of greater successors. He may have been something more than a writer and speaker; he may have been a ruler, though that is doubtful. But we know him, because in the ante-chamber of Purgatory he was so much to Dante. Through three

cantos he is the companion and guide of the two great pilgrims. He is shown to us, as it were, in picture — his solitariness, his lofty faith, his melancholy majesty. His presence calls forth some of Dante's deepest and most memorable laments over the miseries of Italy, and the responsibilities of her indolent and incapable rulers. He leads his companions to the secret and guarded valley where kings and princes of the earth, who have meant to do their duty, but in the end have not fulfilled their trust, must wait outside of Purgatory the hour of mercy; when Dante sees their still sadness, and learns their names, and hears their evening hymns. And here we learn Dante's judgment on Sordello himself: he is placed by himself, more self-centred and in guise haughtier than even the rulers and judges in whose company he waits to begin his cleansing; and he is placed among those who had great opportunities and great thoughts — the men of great chances and great failures."

Of the use which Browning makes of such facts as can be gathered about Sordello, Church has also spoken what is undoubtedly true: "He does what was a common practice at a certain period of classical literature, and to which our critical days have given, often very unjustly, the name of intentional forgery: the practice of taking up famous or well-known names into the sphere of imagination, and making them speak as it is thought they ought to speak — making them speak what is believed to be true in the spirit though feigned in the letter, like the speeches of generals and statesmen in Thucydides or Livy. Mr. Browning takes great liberties: much greater than our historical dramatists and novelists, when they present a Richard the Second or a Savonarola, perhaps no more than Dante has taken with some of his great names, perhaps with his Sordello and his Cunizza. Sordello, like Hamlet, comes from the poet's inner consciousness; the scraps that we do possess about him — Dante's magnificent picture in Purgatory, the scant notices collected in troubadour histories, or the fuller but more mythical accounts, like Platina's, Mr. Browning haughtily passes by. He has a Sordello of his own, utterly unlike anything written of him elsewhere, and of him he knows the innermost secret."

The period in which Sordello lived was a remarkable one.

The Crusades were drawing to a close, in failure. They had given a new life to Europe, however, and out of them had grown feudalism and chivalry. In the South of France the spirit of chivalry was beginning to express itself, and it especially found utterance in Provençal poetry. Sordello was a troubadour, if we may believe some of those who have written of him; and he had some of the finer, as well as some of the coarser qualities which were associated with chivalry.

We see in the life of Sordello another remarkable movement of his time finding expression, that of the origin of the modern European languages and literatures. Until his time Latin had been the sole language of literature, science, and theology, for a period of several centuries. The new life that was springing up found utterance in the use of the common or vulgar language of the people as a medium of literary expression. The troubadours developed this movement in France, as the minnesingers did in Germany. A little later Dante wrote his great poem in Italian, and for the first time in modern history made the language in which the people spoke the medium of great and vital ideas. One of the predecessors of Dante in this work, by whose aid it became possible for him to accomplish what he did, was Sordello. This Mantuan poet wrote either in the speech of his own province or in Provençal, in either case discarding Latin, and singing of love, honor, and philosophy in a speech the people could understand.

In another direction Sordello was an actor in a great movement of his time. The struggle between the Church and the Empire — the struggle between religious and secular authority — had begun long before, and at one time appeared to have been settled in the victory of Hildebrand over Henry IV. It had been revived before the time of Sordello, and was in full activity in his day, as a fierce struggle between Guelf and Ghibelline. The Guelfs were on the side of the Church and the popes, and desired that the pope should exercise a spiritual authority extending over all countries, and superior to all secular rulers. Singularly enough to those who judge the Catholic Church from more recent standards, the Guelfs were the democrats of the time, and were on the side of the people as against the

hard and oppressive rule of the secular authorities, from duke to emperor. It was this fact which made the cities of Northern Italy incline to the side of the Guelfs, for the cities were developing an independent life, and were as democratic as was then possible.

The Ghibellines took the side of the emperor of the German Empire, which had been known as the Holy Roman Empire. They desired that the Church should rule in all spiritual matters, and that the Empire or the state should rule through the emperor in all secular matters. On their side were the beginnings of the modern idea of the state, and of its entire separation from the church.

The names Guelf and Ghibelline originated in Germany in the twelfth century, in a contest of rival families for the title of emperor. During the siege of Weinsberg the followers of Count Welf shouted the name of their leader, while the other party took up the cry of Waiblings, Waiblingen having been the birth-place of Frederick, the brother of the Emperor Conrad. These names came to represent principles as well as families, and as such were carried to Italy, where they were corrupted into Guelf and Ghibelline.

According to Giovanni Fiorentino, in Roscoe's *Italian Novelists*, 1 : 322, the words Guelf and Ghibelline originated in the time of Sordello, in the quarrel of two German families who bore these names. He tells how they were taken up in Florence, and there became the expressions of bitter hatred between two great families. This account may be found in Longfellow's *Divine Comedy*, 1 : 224. From Florence the names spread to all Italy, and finally came to designate the parties of the pope and the emperor. The leaders in this fierce struggle, in the time of Sordello, were Frederick II., the German emperor, and Pope Gregory IX. Frederick ruled from 1214 to 1250, thus covering by his rule the whole period of the active life of Sordello. Opposed to him during that period were three popes, Honorius III., 1216 – 1227 ; Gregory IX., 1227 – 1241 ; and Innocent IV., 1243 – 1264. The story of the struggle between these popes and Frederick has been well told in Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. It is also told by Sismondi, in his *History of the Italian Republics*.

Frederick was one of the greatest rulers of the Middle Ages. He was liberal, broad-minded, a ripe scholar, a troubadour of no mean ability, and a man of great personal capacities. Though almost continuously under the ban of the Church, being repeatedly excommunicated, he held his empire in a condition of loyalty to himself, and he was very popular among his subjects. He was generous towards the Saracens, when he conducted the fifth crusade to Jerusalem; he zealously promoted learning and literature; he devised a remarkable law code for his own kingdom in Southern Italy, and he ruled with a powerful hand, that was felt for order and growth throughout his empire. He was passionate, ambitious, obstinate, luxurious in his tastes, and of a skeptical mind. He had no care for human life when his purpose was to be carried out.

Frederick's chief in Northern Italy was Eccelin or Ezzelino III., a powerful noble, called the Monk, because of his austere religious habits. He was fierce, hard, selfish, and oppressive. He became one of the Paterini, a sect akin to the Albigenses, and retired from the world. His first wife was the sister of Azzo of Este, and was the mother of Cunizza. Browning calls the latter Palma, which was the name of a younger sister of Cunizza. The second wife of Eccelin the Monk was Adelaide, the mother of Eccelin IV., called the Tyrant; and of Alberic, who became the successor to his father in Lombardy. She practiced magic and astrology.

The account given of Eccelin the Monk in Mrs. William Busk's *Mediæval Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Crusaders* opens up the characteristics of the age in which lived Sordello, and gives hint of how far Browning is faithful to the spirit of the time he represents. "It was Ezzelino III. who raised the family of Romano nearly to the zenith of its grandeur. He is no unimportant person of the age; and some incidents of his life are highly characteristic of the state of morals, manners, and public opinion in Italy at the period in question. This third Ezzelino married Agnes, a daughter of the rival house of Este; she died in childbed, and he took for his second wife Speronella Dalesmannini. This lady had previously four times pronounced the nuptial vow; and for aught that appears to the con-

trary, three, if not all four, of the husbands might still be alive to claim her. Of these four matrimonial engagements, only the first, with Giacopino di Carrara, was of the commonplace, orderly kind, and it is but justice to Speronella to say that not by her voluntary act was it broken. Her beauty so fired the passions of Conte Pagano, then imperial governor of Padua, that, abusing the too arbitrary power which in this capacity he possessed, he tore her from her lawful husband and made her — the perplexing part of the story — not his paramour, but his wife. From this compulsory state of sinful bigamy Speronella effected her own liberation; but, in lieu of returning to her proper husband, who might, indeed, refuse to take her back, she wedded a third spouse, named Traversario. This gentleman may possibly have left her a widow, for of him nothing more is heard; and she is soon afterwards found as the wife of a fourth husband, Pietro di Zaussano, from whom she eloped, to espouse the heir of the mighty Ezzelino da Romano. But she had now acquired, if innate it were not, a taste for change. Her new lord, upon his return from a visit to Olderico di Fontana, indiscreetly expatiated upon his host's hospitality, wealth, and personal beauty, the sculpture-like perfection of which had impressed him while bathing together. Speronella was enamored through her ears; and now, reckless of the power of the Romanos, which she had been so ambitious to share, she fled from her fifth consort to plight her brittle faith to a sixth in Olderico, who seems to have unhesitatingly married the wife of his friend. Of this polyandrian lady no further mention occurs; it may therefore be hoped that as Olderico's wife or widow she ended her eccentric matrimonial career. But her deserted lord's third marriage exhibits a picture of the tone of Italian morality in the Middle Ages as loathsome if not as surprising as Speronella's matrimonial freaks.

"Ezzelino the Monk's sister, Cunizza, countess of Camposanpietro, communicated to her father, Ezzelino the Stammerer, the very satisfactory intelligence that the hand of the great heiress of the province, Cecilia di Abano, or Baone, was promised to her eldest son, Gerardo. The information was not received as his daughter anticipated. The knowledge that the Abano fiefs were to be brought into the

family suggested to the Signor di Romano the idea that they might better add to the power of the house of Romano instead of enriching the heir of Camposanpietro through his own grandchild. And Speronella's flight having left his son and heir again a single man, he at once acted upon the suggestion. He caused the heiress of Abano to be waylaid, seized, and brought to Bassano, where she was instantly married to Ezzelino the son. But the disappointed suitor, Gerardo di Camposanpietro, did not tamely submit to the loss of his bride and her broad lands. If compensation he could not, vengeance he was resolute to have; and setting spies on the movements of his new aunt, he surprised her upon a journey, by superiority of numbers overpowered her escort, and forcibly compelled her to submit to embraces, which but for his grandfather's act of violence would have been lawful. Thus publicly dishonored he sent her home to her husband. Ezzelino immediately repudiated this victim to the unbridled passions of the age, and what became of her does not appear.

"As his fourth wife, Ezzelino the Monk espoused Adelaida di Mangone, which proved a more lasting and a more fruitful union than the others; Adelaida presenting him with two sons and four daughters. But his domestic felicity in the marriage, for which the outrage perpetrated upon Cecilia di Abano had made room, did not soften the offended husband's resentment against the Camposanpietros — for to the whole family he imputed the scheme — or shake his determination not to be insulted with impunity, even by his nephew. He took vengeance in kind. He seduced or forcibly carried off Maria di Camposanpietro, a near relative of Gerardo, and kept her openly as a concubine in one of his castles, until she had borne him a daughter. Then, retaining the child, he dismissed the helplessly wretched mother to the infamy and misery he had designedly brought upon her. The enmity between the two families, so near akin in disposition and blood, necessarily continued for many years, ever generating fresh crimes, and ever increasing in virulence. But one nefarious attempt, of which they might fairly be suspected, is more generally imputed to the Marquess of Este. In the winter of the year 1206, Ezzelino, visiting Venice to enjoy the pleasures

of the Carnival, was disporting himself in the Piazza di San Marco, with eleven of his knights, clad exactly like himself, and all masked, when they were suddenly attacked by assassins; and one of the party, Buonaccorsio di Treviso, being mistaken for Ezzelino, was slain. The professional murderers who had struck the fatal blow, presently discovering their blunder, returned in haste to remedy it, by killing as well the prescribed as the unintended. The Marquess of Este, who — whether casually, or as one of his friend and brother-in-law Ezzelino's party — was present, endeavored, by throwing his arms about Ezzelino with a show of protecting him, really so to fetter his movements as to baffle his efforts to defend himself. But Ezzelino broke from the treacherous embrace, his friends gathered around him, and the bravoes were overpowered."

Eccelin IV., something of whose career has already been indicated, was for a long period the chief ruler in Northeastern Italy, nearly the whole of which was under his powerful sway. The brutality he displayed in the treatment of his wives was characteristic of the man, for he was one of the most cruel and bloodthirsty men of whom history informs us. He and his brother Alberico belonged to the Ghibelline party, and were among the most devoted supporters of the cause of the emperor. In 1225 he was elected the podestà of Verona, and soon after he entertained Frederick splendidly in that city. He fought the battles of the emperor against the Guelfs led by Este, and from him took the city of Padua. As a reward for his zealous service Frederick gave Eccelin in marriage his natural daughter Selvaggia, and knighted him with the imperial hand. He became the podestà of Padua, and there in 1239 a costly and magnificent display was made when Frederick visited the city. Step by step Eccelin built up his power, sometimes fairly, more often by treachery, and frequently by sanguinary conflict and cruelty. He ruled for the good of the cities under him, however, established order, and produced a general prosperity. By 1254 he was the ruler of the whole of the Northeast of Italy, and he even aspired to make himself free of the emperor, and to establish for himself an independent kingdom. "He was Lord of almost all that subsequently constituted the continental dominions of

Venice, with the Southern or Italian part of the Tyrol. But as his power increased, his character seems gradually to have deteriorated; a desire for despotic authority keeping pace with that increase. His despotism provoked rebellions, or rather plots for the assassination of the dreaded despot, the form rebellion was apt to take in early times and in small states; whilst the severity, with which such plots, when detected, were punished, provoked new plots, till despotism became tyranny. Yet worse, perhaps, the base adulation resorted to by many, in the hope of averting suspicion or winning favor, inspired a contempt for mankind, that hardened Eccelin's heart. And now his strict and vigorous administration of justice, especially against robbery, and his absence from the sensual excesses, then so prevalent, are said to have been the only good qualities left to balance the ruthlessly sanguinary cruelty, staining the once gallant, clement, magnificent, and cheerful husband of a glorious Emperor's beautiful daughter. But Eccelin himself appears, even upon the testimony of his enemies, to have been convinced that his cruelty was simply inexorable justice. He held himself a second Attila, 'the scourge of God;' saying: 'The sins of the people call for the vengeance of Heaven, and to inflict it are we sent into the world.' Again, hearing that in a satire he had been called a hawk, whom doves had made their king, he observed: 'I am no hawk who devours his doves, but the father of a family, who must clear his house of serpents, scorpions, and other noxious reptiles.' He was steadily loyal to his brother-in-law, Conrad; but, after his death, persevering in the refusal to acknowledge William of Holland, and no scion of the Swabian dynasty then claiming the Empire, he felt that he had no sovereign, and assumed independence."

This claim of independent authority was the occasion of the downfall of Eccelin. His tyranny became oppressive; he put his nephews over the cities of his kingdom, and they imitated his worst faults, with none of his virtues. His enemies organized against him; one city after another was captured or fell away from him. In a hard-fought battle in 1259 he was made a prisoner, tore the bandages from his wounds, and died. His brother Alberico suffered an even worse death, for he saw all his many children slain in

the most cruel manner, and then was brutally killed himself. Thus fell the powerful house of the Romanos.

Eccelin was called by his enemies the Son of the Devil, and the designation was wholly just. Dark and dreadful stories are told of his cruelty, his fierce tyranny, and his love of shedding human blood. Ariosto called him

> "Fierce Eccelin, that most unhuman lord,
> Who shall be deemed by men a child of hell."

Sismondi, in the nineteenth chapter of his *History of the Italian Republics*, has given an account of the life of Eccelin. His character is also described in the first volume of Symonds' *Renaissance in Italy*. Sismondi says he "was small of stature, but the whole aspect of his person, all his movements, indicated the soldier. His language was bitter, his countenance proud; and by a single look he made the proudest tremble. His soul, so greedy of all crimes, felt no attraction for sensual pleasures. He was as pitiless against women as against men. He was in his sixty-sixth year when he died; and his reign of blood had lasted thirty-four years." He died, as he had lived, a hater of men, defiant, and fierce. Dante puts him, along with his relative, Azzo of Este, among the tyrants who in Purgatory expiate their crimes in a river of boiling blood. It is this terrible Eccelin who is made by Browning to take up the work which Sordello ought to have undertaken; and because Sordello failed to accomplish it the tyrant had his opportunity.

Browning changes the name of Cunizza to Palma for some unexplained reason. Very curiously Dante places her in Paradise, because she had loved much. In Canto IX. she appears to Beatrice and Dante, and explains how it was possible for her to be in heaven, who had been so far from good on earth. Her love placed her in the heaven of Venus,

> "Because the splendor of the star o'ercame me."

Rolandino, one of the early chroniclers, says that she was first married to Richard, Count of St. Boniface, and that soon after she had an intrigue with Sordello. This simply means that he was Cunizza's cavalier, after the fashion of this age of chivalry and troubadours, or her lover according

to the forms of gallantry. Then she wandered about the world with Bonius, a soldier of Treviso, and spent much money. When Bonius died she married a nobleman of Braganza; and later on she became the wife of a gentleman of Verona. An early commentator on Dante says that "this lady lived lovingly in dress, song, and sport; but consented not to impropriety or any unlawful act; and she passed her life in enjoyment."

One of the leading followers of Eccelin III., and also of his son, was Taurello Salinguerra. One legend indicates that he was the father of Sordello, and this has been adopted by Browning.

Salinguerra belonged to the family of the Torelli, one of the two leading families of Ferrara. He married a daughter of Eccelin the Monk, and he became the ruler of his native city. Under his mild and beneficent rule it rose to great prosperity, its fairs were attended from every part of Europe, and it grew rapidly in wealth. Salinguerra was liberal, opened his granaries to the poor, and was beloved by his people. The people of Ferrara became so prosperous they grew impatient of the rule of Venice, which claimed sovereignty over them, and they asked for various concessions. Venice thereupon made war on Ferrara, laid siege to it, and when Salinguerra went out to surrender the city made him a prisoner. He was sent to Venice, and placed in prison, where he remained for four years. He had already become very aged when imprisoned; and he died in 1244. He appears to have been as noble a man, and as kindly a ruler, as the times produced, showing a remarkable contrast to his brother-in-law, Eccelin the Tyrant. See the third volume of *The Browning Society's Papers*, number twelve, for a paper by Mr. W. M. Rossetti, in which he translates Muratori's contemporary account of Taurello Salinguerra.

These persons of the poem belonged to the Ghibelline party. Of the Guelfs Browning mentions Pope Honorius III., and also the Lombard nobles Azzo, marquis of Este, and Richard, count of St. Boniface. Both these lords were connected with the Romanos by marriage, but nevertheless they were of the Guelf party; and their enmity seems to have been all the more bitter because of their relationship.

Page 193. *Pentapolin of the Naked Arm.* See *Don Quixote*, 1 : 11 ; *Antiquary*, b. 2, chap. 30 ; *St. Ronan's Well*, chap. 30.

197. *John of Brienne.* King of Jerusalem and leader of the fifth crusade. Frederick II. married his daughter. See Gibbon, chap. 61. John was elected emperor of Constantinople in 1229.

206. *Nicolo.* The sculptor of Pisa ; see *Old Pictures in Florence*, in this volume. — *Guidone.* A Sienese painter of the beginning of the thirteenth century. His *Virgin* was painted in 1221. See Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna.* — See Mrs. Clement's *Christian Symbols* for an account of *Saint Eufemia*, who was a Greek martyr of the fourth century. — *Mad Lucius and sage Antonine.* Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus were joint emperors of Rome in the second century. Verus was as bad as Antoninus was noble.

208. The *adventurous spider* belongs to some species of Orbweaver, *Orbitelariæ*. It is called by the various names of garden, geometric, diadem, and cross-spider. This spider swathes his prey round and round with his web, and it makes a long bridge with its web on which it goes from point to point. The poet is wrong, however, in supposing that the spider can shoot its web to great distances. See *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 486.

209. *Naddo.* The typical critic or Philistine ; wholly imaginary. "The personification of general common-sense and average public opinion," says Miss Wall. He is Sordello's friend and adviser, but "he is employed as the representative of the Philistines, and in his mouth are put the comments of superficial wisdom," says Alexander. Other imaginary names are associated with his on page 218.

212. *Miramoline.* A Moslem prince, whose territory was situated in Northern Africa.

217. *Court of Love.* A poetical contest between several troubadours, to see which could produce the best poem. The decision was rendered by some lady of beauty and rank, who presided over the contest and made its laws. See Rutherford's *Troubadours*, and Hueffer's *Troubadours.* Hueffer proves that the court of love never had an existence. — *Elys.* "Any woman of the then prevailing type of Italian

beauty, having fair hair, and a 'pear-shaped' face." [Mrs. Orr.]

218. *Naddo, Squarcilupe*, etc. See, in this book, note in regard to page 209 of *Sordello.*

227. *Rondel, tenzon, virlai or sirvent.* Forms of verse used by the jongleurs and troubadours. See Hueffer's *Troubadours*, in which several chapters are devoted to these forms of verse.

230. *Will.* "In this passage the word 'will' is used in a peculiar and somewhat undefinable sense, in which it reappears throughout the poem. It means the power in virtue of which we feel potentially an experience or quality; *i. e.*, while one may not actually realize a thing, he feels that he has the spiritual capacity to realize it." [Alexander.] "In this, as in other places in this poem, Browning seems to use the word 'will' as equivalent to imagination and the capacity to realize in himself all his images." [Wall.]

231. Pierre *Vidal.* A troubadour whose behavior was very remarkable, and who followed Richard the Lion-Heart on the third crusade. See Hueffer and Rutherford.

233. *Bocafoli* and *Plara.* "Purely supposititious poets. Browning chooses to invent them as types of two opposite poetic defects; Bocafoli as the writer of stark-naked or totally jejune and inartistic psalms: Plara as the writer of petted and over-finikin sonnets." [W. M. Rossetti.]

233. *Almug* tree. See 2 Chronicles ix. 10, 11.

241. Enrico *Dandolo.* Doge of Venice. With Baldwin of Flanders he led the fourth crusade and conquered Constantinople, and Baldwin was placed on the throne.

249. *Adelaide of Susa.* A great baroness of Lombardy, and one of the chief supporters of the pope.

249. *Matilda.* Countess of Tuscany, the friend of Hildebrand or Gregory VII., at whose castle of Canossa Henry IV. obtained, on his knees and after the deepest degradation, the forgiveness of the pope.

259. *Patron-friend.* Walter Savage Landor.

260. *Eyebright.* "Stands for 'Euphrasia,' its Greek equivalent, and refers to one of Mr. Browning's oldest friends." [Mrs. Orr.]

261. *Xanthus.* See *A Death in the Desert* and the notes thereon.

262. *Carroch.* The wagon which bore the war-standard into battle; it was very large, zealously guarded, and contained a cross and a great bell.

266. *Misery.* See legend of Misery and her apple tree, in Mrs. Palliser's *Brittany and its Byways*, and Crane's *Italian Popular Tales.*

272. *Heinrich.* Henry, son of Frederick I., who married Constance, queen of the Norman kingdom of Lower Italy and Sicily.

273. *Podestà.* Title of the ruler of a city.

279. *Lentisk.* The mastich tree.

282. *Crescentius Nomentanus.* In 998 "Rome made a bold attempt to shake off the Saxon yoke, and the consul Crescentius was the Brutus of the Republic. From the condition of a subject and an exile, he twice rose to the command of the city, oppressed, expelled, and created the popes, and formed a conspiracy for restoring the authority of the Greek emperors. In the fortress of St. Angelo, he maintained an obstinate siege, till the unfortunate consul was betrayed by a promise of safety; his body was suspended on a gibbet, and his head was exposed on the battlements of the castle." [Gibbon, chap. 49.]

285. *Tables of the Mauritanian tree.* Tables of citrus-wood were very costly articles of luxury in Rome.

287. *Alcamo* and *Nina.* "Names connected with early Italian poetry in Sicily; but Nina the poetess, in Crescimbeni and Sismondi, becomes Nina the poet in Mr. Browning." [Church.]

288. *Three Imperial crowns.* "The crown of the German kingdom taken at Aachen, of Lombardy at Milan, and of the Empire at Rome. They were said to be respectively of silver, iron, and gold. Not quite in the order of the text. The terms were probably employed symbolically, as indicating the estimation in which each was held at that time." [Wall.]

298. *The all-transmuting Triad.* See Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. chap. 4, for an account of St. Mark's. Browning has evidently combined the several symbols in St. Mark's to suit his own purposes.

306. *Swooning-sphere.* "Why is Cunizza's sphere the 'swooning-sphere'?" asks Church; but he furnishes no

answer. The reference is to Dante's account of Cunizza in his *Paradiso.*

310. *Cydippe* and *Agathon.* See Ovid. Browning has changed Acantius into Agathon.

311. *Dularete.* An imaginary bard.

325. *Sordello, Prince Visconti.* "The chronicles of Mantua tell how Sordello, Prince Visconti, saved that city and elsewhere distinguished himself greatly; that he was famous as a minstrel and fortunate as a lover; he was praised for the very things he never did and never could have done." [Wall.]

Sordello's Story retold in Prose, by Annie Wall, gives an excellent historical introduction to the poem, a skillfully told outline of the story and a study of the character of Sordello. For students this is the most helpful book on the poem. Holland's *Stories from Browning* gives a brief but clear historical outline; this was first printed in separate form. Mrs. C. H. Dall's little book gives the fullest information about the poet Sordello, as well as a good analysis of the poem.

The study of the poem in Dean Church's *Dante and Other Essays* is one of the best. That by Edward Dowden, in *Fraser's Magazine*, 76 : 518, reprinted in his *Rescripts and Studies*, is the best for an exposition of the purpose had in view by the poet. The chapter on the poem in Alexander's *Introduction to Browning* is thoroughly good, and has been reprinted in separate form by the London Browning Society. The studies of the poem by Nettleship, in his *Essays and Thoughts;* by Mrs. Orr, in her *Handbook;* by Jeanie Morison, in her *Analysis of Sordello*, are of value. Also see *Macmillan's Magazine*, R. W. Church, 55 : 241; *The Academy*, J. A. Blaikie, 22 : 287; *The Browning Society's Papers*, M. D. Conway, 2 : 1*; A. C. Swinburne's introduction to his *Works of George Chapman;* Kingsland's *Chief Poet of the Age.*

VARIOUS READINGS.

Under the heading, "Changed rhymes and fresh lines in Sordello," Furnivall's *Bibliography of Robert Browning* gives a full list of the changes made in the revised form of *Sordello*, and they are here reproduced word for word.

Book I.

ed. 1840.
p. 13
. . . men's flesh *is meant*
Ecelin lifts *two* writhen hands to pray

At Oliero's convent *now : so place*

For Azzo, Lion *of the*

ed. 1863, vol. iii. ed. 1868, vol. ii.
p. 262 p. 13
. . the man's flesh *went*
While his lord lifted writhen hands to pray,
Lost at Oliero's convent.
Hill-cats, face
With ['68 *Our*] Azzo, *our Guelf-Lion !*

Book II.

No changes of rhyme were made in this book, and no fresh lines were added.

Book III.

ed. 1840.
p. 97
A week since at Verona : and *she* wants
You doubtless to contrive the marriage-chants
Ere Richard storms Ferrara."

ed. 1863, vol. iii. ed. 1868, vol. ii.
p. 332–33
. . . . . and *they* want
You doubtless to contrive the marriage-chant
Ere Richard storms Ferrara."
[*New in* 1863] Here ['68 Then] was told p. 83
The tale from the beginning — how, made bold
By Salinguerra's absence, Guelfs had burned
And pillaged till he unawares returned
To take revenge : how Azzo and his friend
Were doing their endeavour, how the end
Of the siege was nigh, and now the Count, released
From further care, would with his marriage-feast
Inaugurate a new and better rule,
Absorbing thus Romano.
"Shall I school p. 84
My master," added Naddo, "and suggest
How you may clothe in a poetic vest
These doings at Verona ?

p. 102
Romano's *lord ! That* Chief — her children too — 1868, ii. 88.

p. 337 p. 88
Mine and Romano's ? *Break the first wall through,*
Tread o'er the ruins of the Chief, *supplant*
His sons beside, still, vainest were the vaunt :

p. 108
. . . A month since Oliero sunk
All Ecelin that was into a Monk ;

p. 342 p. 93
A month since *at* Oliero *s*lunk
All that was Ecelin into a monk ;

p. 113
In "Charlemagne," *for instance,* dreamed divine
In every point except one *restive* line
(*Those* daughters !) — what *significance* may lurk
In that ? My life commenced before that work,

p. 346 p. 97
In "Charlemagne," (*his poem*, dreamed divine
In every point except one *silly* line
About *the restiff* daughters) — what may lurk
In that ?" "My life commenced before this work,"
(*So I interpret the significance*
Of the bard's start aside and look askance)

ed. 1840.	ed. 1863, vol. iii.	ed. 1868, vol. ii.
p. 113–14	p. 347	p. 98
Continues after *it, as* on I fare	*My life* continues after : on I fare	
To meditate with us eternal rest?	To meditate with us eternal rest,	
Strike sail, slip cable! here the *galley's* moored.	*And partnership in all his life has found?"*	
	'T is but a sailor's promise, weather-bound	
	'Strike sail, slip cable, here the *bark be* moored.	
p. 116	p. 349	p. 100
(*at home we* dizen *scholars*, chiefs and *kings*,	*For, these 'in evidence, you clearlier claim*	
But in this magic weather hardly clings	*A like garb for the rest, — grace all, the same*	
The old garb gracefully: Venice, a type	*As these my peasants. I ask youth and strength*	
	And health for each of you, not more — at length	
	Grown wise, who asked at home that the whole race	
	Might add the spirit's to the body's grace,	
	And all be dizened *out as* chiefs and *bards.*	
	But in this magic weather one discards	
	Much old requirement. Venice *seems* a type	
p. 116–17	p. 349–50	p. 101
Or *stay* me, *thrid her cross* canals alone,	Or *keep* me *to the unchoked* canals alone,	
As hinder Life *what seems* the *single* good	As hinder Life *the evil with* the good	
Sole purpose, one thing to be understood	*Which make up Living, rightly* understood.	
Of Life) — *best, be they* Peasants, *be they* Queens,	*Only, do finish something!* Peasants, queens,	
Take them, *I say*, made happy *any* means,	Take them, made happy *by whatever* means,	
p. 120	p. 353	p. 104[1]
A hungry sun above us, sands *among*	A hungry sun above us, sands *that bung*	
p. 127	p. 358	p. 109
In unexpanded infancy, *assure*	In unexpanded infancy, *unless . . .*	
Yourself nor misconceive my portraiture	*But that 's the story, — dull enough, confess!*	
	There might be fitter subjects to allure;	
	Still, neither misconceive my portraiture	

Book IV.

ed. 1840.	ed. 1863, vol. iii.	ed. 1868, vol. ii.
p. 141	p. 370	p. 120
What booted scattered *brilliances? the* mind	What booted scattered *units? here a* mind	
Of any number he might hope to *bind*	*And there, which might repay his own* to *find*	
And stamp *with his own thought*, howe'er august	And stamp *and use?* — a few, howe'er august	
If all the rest *should* grovel in the dust?	If all the rest *were* grovel*ling* in the dust?	
p. 142	p. 370	p. 121
With good to them as well, and *he should be*	With *incidental* good to them as well	
	And *that mankind's delight would help to swell*	
Rejoiced thereat, and if, as formerly	*His own. So* if he sighed, as formerly	

[1] On p. 106 is a misprint in a rhyme: 'She shut[s]

ed. 1840.

He sighed the merry time of life must fleet,

else why *are*

The *great* ado
p. 146

A drear vast presence-chamber roughly set
In order for th*is* morning's use; *you met*

The grim *black* twy-necked eagle

p. 149
Therefore he smiled
p. 150
Straight a meeting of old men:
[† 1868, Salinguerra's]

The Lombard eagle of the azure sphere
With Italy to build in, *builds he* here?
This deemed — the other owned upon advice —
A third reflected on the matter twice
p. 152
When, *as its* Podestà
Regaled him at Vicenza, *Este*, there

With Boniface beforehand, *each* aware
p. 152
deep sunk,
A very pollard mortised in *a* trunk

Which Arabs *out of* wantonness *contrive*
Shall dwindle, that the alien stock may thrive

ed. 1863, vol. iii.

p. 371
Because the merry time of life must fleet

p. 122
why *the jar*
Else — the ado
p. 374

p. 125
These spokesmen for the Kaiser and the Pope
This incarnation of the People's hope,
Sordello, all the say of each was said
And Salinguerra sat, himself instead
Of these to talk with, lingered musing yet.
'T was a drear vast presence-chamber roughly set
In order for the morning's use; *full face*

The Kaiser's ominous sign-mark had first place,
The *crowned* grim twy-necked eagle
p. 376–77
p. 127–28
How his life-streams rolling arrived at last
At the barrier, whence, were it once overpast
They would emerge, a river to the end,
Gathered themselves up, paused, bade fate befriend,
Took the leap, hung a minute at the height,
Then fell back to oblivion infinite:
Therefore he smiled
p. 378
p. 129
Straight a meeting of old men:
" *Old Salinguerra*† *dead, his heir a boy,*
" *What if we change our ruler and decoy*
The Lombard eagle of the azure sphere,
With Italy to build in, *fix him* here
Settle the city's troubles in a trice?
For private wrong, let public good suffice!"
p. 379
p. 130
When *the* Podestà
Ecelin, at Vicenza, called his friend
Tourello thither, what could be their end
But to restore the Ghibellins' late Head,
The Kaiser helping? He with most to dread
From vengeance and reprisal, Azzo, there
With Boniface beforehand, *as* aware
p. 380
p. 131
which shrunk
As the other prospered — mortised in *his* trunk;
Like a dwarf palm which wanton Arabs *foil*
Of bearing its own proper wine and oil,
By grafting into it the stranger-vine,
Which sucks its heart out, sly and serpentine

ed. 1868, vol. ii.

ed. 1840.	ed. 1863, vol. iii.	ed. 1868, vol. ii.
p. 153	p. 381	p. 132
Only, Roman Salinguerra screens.	"Only, *why is it* Salinguerra screens	
	Himself behind Romano? — *him we bade*	
	Enjoy our shine i' the front, nor seek the shade!"	
Heinrich *was* somewhat of the tardiest	—*Asked* Heinrich, somewhat of the tardiest	
To comprehend.	To comprehend.	
p. 154	p. 382	p. 133
In contracts, while *through* Arab lore, deter	In contracts *with him*, while, *since* Arab lore	
	Holds the stars' secret — take one trouble more	
	And master it! 'T is done, and now deter	
p. 156	p. 383	p. 134
now cringe, sue peace, *but peace*	now cringe *for peace*, sue peace	
At price of *all advantage; therefore cease*	At price of *past gain, bar of fresh increase*	
The fortunes of Romano!	*To* the fortunes of Romano.	
p. 158	p. 385	p. 136
'T was leaned in the embrasure *presently*	'T was leaned in the embrasure *absently*	
p. 165	p. 391	p. 142
Enormous water *current, his sole track*	Enormous water*course which guides him back*	
p. 167	p. 393	p. 144
As though it bore *a burden, which could tame*	As though it bore *up, helped some half-orbed flame*	
p. 171	p. 396	p. 147
And structures that inordinately glow	*New* structures, that inordinately glow,	
	Subdued, brought back to harmony, made ripe	
	By many a relic of the archetype	
	Extant for wonder; every upstart church	
	That hoped to leave old temples in the lurch	

BOOK V (collated by the Rev. T. W. Carson).

ed. 1840.	ed. 1863, vol. iii.
p. 173–74	p. 398
He that sprawls	He that sprawls
On aught but a stibadium *suffers . . . goose*,	On aught but a stibadium . . . *what his dues*
Put*est our* lustral vase to such an use?	*Who* puts *the* lustral vase to such an use?
p. 175	p. 400
And Rome *'s accomplished!* Better (say you) merge	*That way was* Rome *built.* "Better, (say you) merge
At once all workmen in the demiurge,	At once all workmen in the demiurge,
All epochs in a life-time, *and all* tasks	All epochs in a life-time, *every* task
In one: *undoubtedly* the city basks	In one!" *So should* the *sudden* city bask
p. 176	p. 401
Sordello, wake!	"Sordello, wake!
	God has conceded two sights to a man
	One, of men's whole work, time's completed plan,
	The other of the minute's work, man's first
	Step to the plan's completeness: what 's dispersed
	Save hope of that supreme step which, descried
	Earliest, was meant still to remain untried

ed. 1840.

p. 177–78
Where is the Vanity?
An elder poet's in the younger's place —
Take Nina's strength — but *lose* Alcama's grace?
Each neutralizes each then! *gaze* your fill;
Scarch *further*, *and the past presents you* still
New Ninas, *new* Alcamas, time's midnight
Concluding, — better say *its even*light

Of yesterday. *You*, *now*, *in this respect*
Of benefitting people (to reject
The favour of your fearful ignorance
A thousand phantasms eager to advance,

Refer you but to those within your reach)
Were you the first who *got*, *to use plain* speech,
The Multitude to be materialized?
p. 180
The couple there alone help Gregory?

Hark — from the hermit Peter's *thin sad* cry
p. 181
trail plenteous o'er the ground
Vine-like, produced by joy and sorrow, whence

Unfeeling and yet feeling, strongest thence:
p. 183
Rather than doing these: *now* — fancy's trade
[Is ended, mind, nor one half may evade]

p. 191
And round those three the People formed a ring,

Suspended their own vengeance, chose await

ed. 1863, vol. iii.

Only to give you heart to take your own
Step, *and there stay* — *leaving the rets alone?*
p. 402
Where is the Vanity?
An elder poet in the younger's place. —
Nina's *the* strength — but Alcamo's *the* grace:
Each neutralizes each then! Search your fill;
You get no whole and perfect Poet — still
New Ninas, Alcamos, *till* time's midnight
Shrouds all — *or* better say, *the shutting* light
Of *a forgotten* yesterday. *Dissect*
Every ideal workman — (to reject
In favour of your fearful ignorance
The thousand phantasms eager to advance,
And point you but to those within your reach) —
Were you the first who *brought* — (*in modern* speech)
The Multitude to be materialized?
p. 404
Do the *popes* coupled there help Gregory
Alone? Hark from the hermit Peter's cry
p. 405
trail o'er the ground —
Shall I say, *gourd*-like? — *not the flower's display*
Nor the root's prowess, *but the* plenteous *way*
O' the plant — produced by joy and sorrow, whence
Unfeeling and yet feeling, strongest thence?
p. 406
Rather than doing these, *in days gone by.*
But all is changed the moment you descry
Mankind as half yourself, — *then* fancy's trade [&c.]
p. 414
And round those three the people formed a ring,
Of visionary judges whose award
He recognized in full — *faces that barred*
Henceforth return to the old careless life,
In whose great presence, *therefore*, *his first strife*
For their sake must not be ignobly fought,
All these at once approved of him, *he thought*,
Suspended their own vengeance, chose await

ed. 1840.
p. 194
Now, whether he came near or kept aloof,

Those forms unalterable first *to* last
Proved him her copy, not the protoplast

p. 196
Will dawns above us. *But so much* to win
Ere that! *A lesser round of steps within*
The last.

p. 197
Which *evil* is, which *good*, if I allot
Your Hell, *the* Purgatory, Heaven *ye wot*,
p. 201
Say there 's a *thing* in prospect, must disgrace
Betide competitors? An obscure place

p. 202 this badge alone
Makes you Romano's Head — *the Lombard's Curb*
Turns on your neck which would, on mine, disturb
p. 204
From wandering after his heritage
Lost once and lost for aye — *what could engage*
That deprecating glance?
p. 212 a spark
I' the stone, and whirl of some loose embossed *thong*
That crashed against the angle aye so long

ed. 1863, vol. iii.
p. 416
Now whether he came near or kept aloof
The several forms he longed to imitate,
Not there the kingship lay, he sees too late,
Those forms, unalterable first *as* last,
Proved him her cop*ier*, not the protoplast.
p. 418
Will dawns above us! *All then is* to win
Save that! *How much for me, then? Where begin*
My work?
p. 418
Which *sinner* is, which *saint*, if I allot
Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, *a blaze or blot*

p. 422
Say there 's a *prize* in prospect, must disgrace
Betide competitors, *unless they style*
Themselves Romano? Were it worth my while
To try my own luck! But an obscure place
p. 423 "This badge alone
Makes you Romano's Head — *becomes superb*
On your *bare* neck, which would, on mine, disturb
p. 425
From wandering after his heritage
Lost once and lost for aye — *and why that rage,*
That deprecating glance?
p. 431 a spark
I' the stone, and whirl of some loose embossed *throng*
That crashed against the angle aye so long.

BOOK VI (collated by the Rev. T. W. Carson).

ed. 1840.
p. 221
That buckler 's lined with many a Giant's beard
Ere long, *Porphyrio*, be the lance *but* reared,
p. 222
Lames barefoot Agathon.

Oh, people, urge
Your claims! for thus he ventured to the verge
p. 223
— Buds blasted, but of breath more like perfumes
Than Naddo's staring nosegay's carrion blooms.

ed. 1863, vol. iii.
p. 438
That buckler 's lined with many a giant's beard
Ere long, *O champion*, be the lance *up*reared,
p. 439
Lames barefoot Agathon: *this felled, we 'll try*
The picturesque achievements by and by —
Next life!"
Ay, rally, mock, oh People, urge
Your claims! — for thus he ventured, to the verge
p. 440
— Buds blasted, but of breath more like perfume
Than Naddo's staring nosegay's carrion bloom:

ed. 1840.	ed. 1863, vol. iii.
p. 225	p. 441
Or might impede *that* Guelf rule, *it behoved*	Or might impede *the* Guelf rule, *must be moved*
You, for the Then's sake, hate what *now* you loved,	*Now*, for the Then's sake, — hat*ing* what you loved,
p. 240	p. 454
Exciting discontent, *had* sure*st* quelled	Exciting discontent, *or* sure*lier* quell
The Body if aspiring it rebe*lled*.[1]	The body if, aspiring, it rebel?
p. 248-49	p. 461
You hear its one tower left, a belfry, toll —	You hear its one tower left, a belfry, toll —
	The earthquake spared it last year, laying flat
	The modern church beneath, — no harm in that!
Cherups the contumacious grasshopper,	Cherups the contumacious grasshopper.

[1] In p. 246, as occasionally elsewhere, Browning treats the inflectional *s* as nothing in his rhymes:

The life-cord prompt enough whose last fine threads
You fritter: so, presiding his board-head . . . .
p. 251 A tree that covets fruitage and yet tastes
Never itself, itself — had he embraced . . . .

They are not changed in the *Works* of 1863, p. 459, p. 463, or in the *Works* of 1868, p. 211, p. 215.

So, the head aches and the limbs are faint! The first line of the sixth lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies*.

Soul's Tragedy, A. This drama was published in the eighth number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, which was issued in April, 1846. It followed *Luria;* and after it came the concluding words in regard to the series. First reprinted in *Poetical Works*, 1863.

The scene of the story is laid at Faenza, an Italian city, situated about half-way between Bologna and Ravenna, which at present has a population of about forty thousand. The earthenware called *faience* is named from this city, and it is manufactured there. The time of the drama is the sixteenth century, but the story of the book is not historical.

Rolfe gives, in his annotated edition of three of the dramas, an introduction and full notes. Miss Burt puts Eulalia among the shrewd women, in her *Browning's Women*.

Speculative. *Asolando*, 1889.

Spring Song. In the *New Amphion*, a small book published for the Edinburgh University Union Fancy Fair, 1886, was a short poem from Browning's pen, reprinted in *The Browning Society's Papers*, number seven: —

SPRING SONG.

Dance, yellows and whites and reds!
Lead your gay orgy, — leaves, stalks, heads,
Astir with the wind in the tulip-beds!

There 's sunshine: scarcely a wind at all
Disturbs starved grass and daisies small
On a certain mound by a churchyard wall.

Daisies and grass be my heart's bedfellows
On the mound wind spares and sunshine mellows —
Dance you, reds and whites and yellows!

Statue and the Bust, The. *Men and Women*, 1855; *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

The Piazza della Santa Annunziata is only a few steps from the Academy of Fine Arts, in the Via Larga. Florence. The church from which the Piazza is named was built by the Order of Servite Monks in 1250, but has been modernized. It is adorned with busts of those members of the Medici family who became grand dukes. The square contains an equestrian statue of Ferdinand I., the younger son of Cosimo I., who was a cardinal, and then a grand duke. Ferdinand is represented as riding away from the church, and with his face directed towards the Medicean palace on the other side of the street. This palace was built in 1430 by Cosimo dei Medici, and from designs by Michelozzo Michelozzi. In this palace the Medici entertained kings and great people; to it came Marsilio Ficino and other Renaissance scholars, and in it were held many a discussion on high themes in art and literature. In 1659 it was sold by Ferdinand II. to Marchese Riccardi; and it has since been known as the Riccardi Palace.

Duke Ferdinand loved the wife of Riccardi, according to tradition. The result is described in the poem. The Riccardi kept his young wife closely a prisoner when he found that she conversed with the grand duke. There she could see and be seen of her lover only when she gazed from the windows. In revenge, Ferdinand erected his bust, that he might always appear to watch for the fair one. This tradition is expanded by Browning, and embellished to bring out certain dramatic effects.

The Via Larga, being shadowed by the palace, is made

symbolic of the *crime* committed by Cosimo de' Medici and his son Lorenzo in destroying the liberties of Florence. — *Petraja* is a villa a short distance out of Florence. — *Robbia* is the ware of which the bust was made. — *John of Douay* or Bologna is the artist who executed the statue, and it is regarded as his best work. It was made from cannon taken from the Turks by Knights of St. Stephen.

These questions were once sent to Browning: "1. When, how, and where did it happen? Browning's divine vagueness lets one gather only that the lady's husband was a Riccardi. 2. Who was the lady? who the duke? 3. The magnificent house wherein Florence lodges her préfet is known to all Florentine ball-goers as the Palazzo Riccardi. It was bought by the Riccardi from the Medici in 1659. From none of its windows did the lady gaze at her more than royal lover. From what window, then, if from any? Are the statue and the bust still in their original positions?"

Browning made answer under date of January 8, 1887: "I have seldom met with such a strange inability to understand what seems the plainest matter possible: 'ball-goers' are probably not history-readers, but any guide-book would confirm what is sufficiently stated in the poem. I will append a note or two, however. 1. 'This story the townsmen tell;' 'when, how, and where,' constitutes the subject of the poem. 2. The lady was the wife of Riccardi; and the duke, Ferdinand, just as the poem says. 3. As it was built by, and inhabited by, the Medici till sold, long after, to the Riccardi, it was not from the duke's palace, but a window in that of the Riccardi, that the lady gazed at her lover riding by. The statue is still in its place, looking at the window under which 'now is the empty shrine.' Can anything be clearer? My 'vagueness' leaves what to be 'gathered' when all these things are put down in black and white? Oh, 'ball-goers'!"

See Kingsland's *Robert Browning, Chief Poet of the Age.*

Strafford. The idea of writing a drama for the stage was suggested to Browning by William Macready, one of the most popular and successful actors of his day. Macready read *Paracelsus* soon after its publication, and was much impressed with its power and the genius it manifested.

In his journal he described it as "a work of great daring, starred with poetry of thought, feeling, and diction, but occasionally obscure; the writer can scarcely fail to be a leading spirit of his time." In February, 1836, Macready made this entry in his journal:—

"Forster and Browning called, and talked over the plot of a tragedy which Browning had begun to think of; the subject, Narses. He said that I had bit him by my performance of Othello, and I told him I hoped I should make the blood come. It would indeed be some recompense for the miseries, the humiliations, the heart-sickening disgusts, which I have endured in my profession, if, by its exercise, I had awakened a spirit of poetry whose influence would elevate, ennoble, and adorn our degraded drama. May it be!"

In May of the same year, when a tragedy written by Sergeant Talfourd was played, a supper followed, when Wordsworth, Landor, Miss Mitford, Macready, Talfourd, Browning, and others sat down together. When the guests were leaving, Macready came behind Browning on the stairs, and laying his hand on his arm said to him, "Write a play, Browning, and keep me from going to America." The tone of earnestness with which these words were uttered was such as to impress the poet with their sincerity, and he replied: "Shall it be historical and English? What do you say to a drama on Strafford?" Browning at once took up the subject thus suggested, and spent several months in studying it in its historical aspects. His intimate friend, John Forster, had just published in his *British Statesmen* an account of Strafford, and this Browning made the basis of his drama.

In August Macready recorded in his journal that Forster had mentioned to him Browning's choice of Strafford as the subject for his drama, and the actor added: "He could not have hit upon one that I could have more readily concurred to." In November Browning brought the tragedy to Macready complete, except in the fourth act; and he was requested to finish it. In March, 1837, the tragedy was ready for the stage, and Macready records going to the theatre with it, and adds: "Read to Mr. Osbaldiston the play of *Strafford;* he caught at it with avidity, agreed

to produce it without delay on his part, and to give the author £12 per night for twenty-five nights, and £10 per night for ten nights beyond. He also promised to offer Mr. Elton an engagement to strengthen the play."

In April Macready spent an evening in reading the play, and in its careful study. The next day he recorded in his journal the results of his study of the tragedy: —

"Thought over some scenes of *Strafford*, before I rose, and went out very soon to the rehearsal of it. There is no chance, in my opinion, for the play, but in the acting, which by possibility might carry it to the end without disapprobation; but that the curtain can fall without considerable opposition, I cannot venture to anticipate under the most advantageous circumstances. In all the historical plays of Shakespeare, the great poet has only introduced such events as act on the individuals concerned, and of which they are themselves a part; the persons are all in direct relation to each other, and the facts are present to the audience. But in Browning's play, we have a long scene of passion — upon what? A plan destroyed, by whom or for what we know not, and a parliament dissolved, which merely seems to inconvenience Strafford in his arrangements."

The tragedy was presented for the first time at Covent Garden Theatre, May 1, 1837. The following account of the play appeared in *The Examiner*, written by John Forster: "The tragedy was produced with all the evidences of a decided success; though we confess that we do not think it will take permanent hold of the stage. It should be stated, however, that it was most infamously got up; that even Mr. Macready was not near so fine as he is wont to be; and that for the rest of the performers, with the exception of Miss Faucit, they were a born wonder to look at."

In her edition of *Strafford* Miss Emily H. Hickey mentions this interesting fact in connection with the first production of the play on the stage: "When the play was rehearsing, Mr. Browning gave Macready a *lilt* which he had composed for the children's song in Act V. His object was just to give the children a thing children would croon; but the two little professed singers, Master and Miss

Walker, preferred something that should exhibit their powers more effectually, and a regular song was substituted, scarcely, it will be thought, to the improvement of the play." By permission of Mr. Browning this lilt is published in Miss Hickey's preface. It is also printed in *Poet-Lore*, 1 : 236, May, 1889.

In his paper on "The Early Writings of Robert Browning," published in *The Century* for December, 1881, Mr. Edmund Gosse gives Browning's view of the stage presentation of the tragedy. "It is time now to deny a statement," says Mr. Gosse, "that has been repeated *ad nauseam* in every notice that professes to give an account of Mr. Browning's career. Whatever is said or not said, it is always remarked that his plays have failed on the stage. In point of fact, the three plays which he has brought out have all succeeded, and have owed it to fortuitous circumstances that their tenure on the boards has been comparatively short. *Strafford* was produced when the finances of Covent Garden Theatre were at their lowest ebb, and nothing was done to give dignity or splendor to the performance. 'Not a rag for the new tragedy,' said Mr. Osbaldiston. The King was taken by Mr. Dale, who was stone-deaf, and who acted so badly that, as one of the critics said, it was a pity that the pit did not rise as one man and push him off the stage. All sorts of alterations were made in the text; where the poet spoke of 'grave gray eyes,' the manager corrected it in rehearsal to 'black eyes.' But at last Macready appeared, in the second scene of the second act, in more than his wonted majesty, crossing and recrossing the stage like one of Vandyke's courtly personages come to life again; and Miss Helen Faucit threw such tenderness and passion into the part of Lady Carlisle as surpassed all that she had previously displayed of histrionic powers. Under these circumstances, and in spite of the dull acting of Vanderhoff, who played Pym without any care or interest, the play was well received on the first night, and on the second night was applauded with enthusiasm by a crowded house. There was every expectation that the tragedy would have no less favorable a run than *Ion* [Sergeant Talfourd's play, which had been brought out at the same theatre the year before, and with great success]

had enjoyed, but after five nights Vanderhoff suddenly withdrew, and though Elton volunteered to take his place, the financial condition of the theatre, in spite of the undiminished popularity of the piece, put an end to its representation.

"Mr. Browning, the elder, had paid for the cost of *Paracelsus; Strafford* was taken by Longmans, and brought out, at their expense, as a little volume, — not, like most of the tragedies of the day, in dark-gray paper covers, with a white label. However, at that time the public absolutely declined to buy Mr. Browning's books, and *Strafford*, although more respectfully received by the press, was as great a financial failure as *Paracelsus*. It was part of Mr. Browning's essentially masculine order of mind to be in no wise disheartened or detached from his purpose by this indifference of the public. He was silent for three years, but all the time busy with copious production."

When published, *Strafford* was dedicated to Macready, and it had a preface, not afterwards reprinted with the tragedy. It is here reproduced word for word and letter for letter: —

"I had for some time been engaged in a Poem of a very different nature, when induced to make the present attempt; and am not without apprehension that my eagerness to freshen a jaded mind by diverting it to the healthy natures of a grand epoch, may have operated unfavorably on the represented play, which is one of Action in Character, rather than Character in Action. To remedy this, in some degree, considerable curtailment will be necessary, and, in a few instances, the supplying details not required, I suppose, by the mere reader. While a trifling success would much gratify, failure will not wholly discourage me from another effort: experience is to come; and earnest endeavor may yet remove many disadvantages.

"The portraits are, I think, faithful; and I am exceedingly fortunate in being able, in proof of this, to refer to the subtle and eloquent exposition of the characters of Eliot and Strafford, in the *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen*, now in the course of publication in Lardner's *Cyclopedia*, by a writer [John Forster] whom I am proud to call my friend; and whose biographies of Hampden, Pym and Vane, will, I

am sure, fitly illustrate the present year — the Second Centenary of the Trial concerning Ship-Money. My Carlisle, however, is purely imaginary: I at first sketched her singular likeness roughly in, as suggested by Matthews and the memoir-writers — but it was too artificial, and the substituted outline is exclusively from Voiture and Waller.

"The Italian boat-song in the last scene is from Redi's 'Bacco,' long since naturalized in the joyous and delicate version of Leigh Hunt."

Browning followed the conception of Strafford given by Forster in the biography of that statesman, published under the title of *Eminent British Statesmen* in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*. New facts have since come to light; and Strafford's life has been presented by later historians in a manner nearer to the truth of historic detail. In the introduction to Miss Emily H. Hickey's edition of *Strafford*, Professor Samuel R. Gardiner carefully discusses the historic truthfulness of the tragedy. His statements are of so much value that they may be given at some length. "We may be sure," says Professor Gardiner, "that it was not by accident that Mr. Browning, in writing this play, decisively abandoned all attempt to be historically accurate. Only here and there does anything in the course of the drama take place as it could have taken place at the actual Court of Charles I. Not merely are there frequent minor inaccuracies, but the very roots of the situation are untrue to fact. The real Strafford was far from opposing the war with the Scots at the time when the Short Parliament was summoned. Pym never had such a friendship for Strafford as he is represented as having, and, to any one who knows anything of the habits of Charles, the idea of Pym or his friends entering into colloquies with Strafford, and even bursting in unannounced into Charles's presence, is, from the historical point of view, simply ludicrous.

"So completely does the drama proceed irrespectively of historical truth, that the critic may dispense with the thankless task of pointing out discrepancies. He will be better employed in asking what ends those discrepancies were intended to serve, and whether the neglect of truth of fact has resulted in the highest truth of character.

"There is not much difficulty in answering the first

question. From the beginning to the end of the play the personal relations between the actors are exaggerated at the expense of the political. To make that dramatic which would otherwise not be dramatic, Mr. Browning has been utterly regardless even of historical probability. Whatever personal feeling may have entwined itself in the political attachment between Strafford and Charles, is strengthened until it becomes the very basis of Strafford's life, and the key-note of his character. Having thus brought out the moral qualities of his héro, it remained for Mr. Browning to impress his readers with Strafford's intellectual greatness. The historian who tries to do that will have much to say on his constitutional views and his Irish government, but a dramatist who tried to follow in such a path would only make himself ridiculous. Mr. Browning understood the force of the remark of the Greek philosopher, that Homer makes us realize Helen's beauty most by speaking of the impression which it made upon the old men who looked on her. Mr. Browning brings out Strafford's greatness by showing the impression which he made on Pym and Lady Carlisle.

"Mr. Browning took a hint from the old story, which is without any satisfactory evidence, and which is indirectly contradicted by all the evidence which has reached us, that Pym and Strafford were once intimate friends. In carrying on Pym's feeling of admiration for Charles's minister to the days of the Short and even of the Long Parliament, the dramatist has filled his play with scenes which are more hopelessly impossible than anything else in it; but they all conduce to his main object, the creation of the impression about Strafford which he wished to convey. He pursues the same object in dealing with Lady Carlisle. What he needs is her admiration of Strafford, not Strafford's admiration of her. He takes care to show that she was not, as vulgar rumor supposed, Strafford's mistress. The impression of Strafford's greatness is brought more completely home to the spectator or the reader, because of the effect which it produces upon one who has given her heart without return.

"Having thus noted the means employed in creating the impression desired, we have still to ask how far the impression is a correct one. On this point each reader must

judge for himself. For myself, I can only say that, every time that I read the play, I feel more certain that Mr. Browning has seized the real Strafford, the man of critical brain, of rapid decision, and tender heart, who strove for the good of his nation without sympathy for the generation in which he lived. Charles, too, with his faults perhaps exaggerated, is nevertheless the real Charles. Of Lady Carlisle we know too little to speak with anything like certainty, but, in spite of Mr. Browning's statement that his character of her is purely imaginary, there is a wonderful parallelism between the Lady Carlisle of the play and the less noble Lady Carlisle which history conjectures rather than describes. There is the same tendency to fix the heart upon the truly great man, and to labor for him without the requital of human affection, though in the play no part is played by that vanity which seems to have been the main motive with the real personage.

"On the other hand, Pym is the most unsatisfactory, from an historical point of view, of the leading personages. It was perhaps necessary for dramatic purposes that he should appear to be larger-hearted than he was, but it imparts an unreality to his character. It must be remembered, however, that the aim of the dramatist was to place Strafford before the eyes of men, not to produce an exact representation of the statesmen of the Long Parliament."

In a communication published in *The Pall Mall Gazette* during April, 1890, Mr. F. J. Furnivall says that the biography of Strafford, which has borne the name of John Forster as the author, was in reality written by Browning; and that this accounts for its close resemblance to the tragedy of *Strafford*. He says: —

"This volume was published in 1836. John Forster wrote the *Life* of Eliot, the first in the volume, and began that of Strafford. He then fell ill; and as he was anxious to produce the book in the time agreed on, Browning offered to finish *Strafford* for him on his handing over all the material he had accumulated for it. Forster was greatly relieved by Browning's kindness. The poet set to work, completed Strafford's life on his own lines, in accordance with his own conception of Strafford's character, but generously said nothing about it until after Forster's death.

Then he told a few of his friends — me among them — of how he had helped Forster. On my telling Professor Gardiner this, I found that he knew it, and had been long convinced that the conception of Strafford in this Lardner *Life* was not John Forster's, but was Robert Browning's. The other day Professor Gardiner urged me to make the fact of Browning's authorship public; and I do so now, though I have frequently mentioned it to friends in private; and at the Browning Society, when a member has said 'It is curious how closely Browning has followed his authority, Forster's *Life* of Strafford,' I have answered 'Yes, because he wrote it himself.' We must understand why, when Macready asked Browning, on May 26, 1836, to write him a play, the poet suggested Strafford as its subject; and why, the *Life* being finished in 1836, the play was printed and played in 1837. The internal evidence will satisfy any intelligent reader that almost all the prose *Life* is the poet's."

Mr. Furnivall is of the opinion that Browning wrote the whole of the *Life* of Strafford after the first seven paragraphs. It is a strongly written biography, keen in analysis, clear in its outlining of leading events, and masterful in its thorough understanding of Strafford's life. It will be found worthy of attention as an indication of what Browning could do in the way of writing clear and vigorous prose. It is not less interesting as a study of a great historic character by this master of psychological analysis.

Under the title of *The Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England*, Forster's series of biographies, edited by J. O. Choules, is published by Harpers. In the original edition the *Life of Strafford* was the twenty-eighth volume of Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, and the second of the *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen.*

This volume has been republished by the Browning Society of London, through Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, and Estes & Lauriat, Boston, 1891. It is edited with an introduction by J. B. Firth, and a preface by Dr. F. J. Furnivall. It bears the title of *Robert Browning's Prose Life of Strafford.*

Poet-Lore, vol. i. pp. 236, 282, 332, 372, 426, 511, 562, gives a full list of the historical allusions in *Strafford*, and proves how implicitly the poet relied on the biography

bearing the name of John Forster as the author for his presentation of the great statesmen he interpreted in his poem. Passages are quoted from Forster's biography, and immediately after them are printed the parts of the poem based on them. The fact that Browning wrote the biography makes these resemblances doubly interesting.

Mr. H. D. Traill, in his *Lord Strafford*, published in the series of *English Men of Action*, has written what may be regarded as a defense of that great political leader. His book shows strong Tory sympathies, and it cannot be wholly trusted as an historic interpretation of Strafford's life; but it makes a strong effort to give consistency and an honest purpose to his career. In Green's *History of the English People*, book vii. chap. vii., is given a view of Strafford's life less favorable, but more accurate, than that presented by Mr. Traill. In the same book of this history the work of the Parliamentary leaders is described in a manner as interesting as it is reliable. Also, Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. vi.; Macaulay's *History*, vol. i. chap. i.; Hume's *History*, vol. v., treat of Strafford, Pym, and the other characters of the play. There is a good biography of Hampden by Lord Nugent, of Pym in Mr. Goldwin Smith's *Three English Statesmen*, of Sir Henry Vane the younger by Mr. James K. Hosmer, and of Eliot by John Forster.

Strafford has been published in London, by George Bell & Sons, in a small volume edited, with notes and preface, by Miss Emily H. Hickey, and an introduction by Professor Samuel R. Gardiner. The text was revised by Mr. Browning. The notes will be found helpful in explaining the historical allusions. From the preface this item is taken: "The historical Lady Carlisle was the daughter of the ninth Earl of Northumberland. In 1639 she had been for three years a widow. Her husband was James, Lord Hay, created successively Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle." For a sketch of this strange woman, see Lodge's *Portraits of Illustrious Personages*, vol. v., in Bohn's Library. Sir Toby Matthews' "character of the most excellent Lady, Lucy, Countess of Carlisle," prefixed to a collection of letters which Donne edited in 1660, is of sufficient interest to repay a perusal. Lodge has an engraving of

her portrait by Vandyke. The London Browning Society's *Bibliography*, p. 117, reprints the notices of the first performance of *Strafford*, especially that by John Forster in *The Examiner*.

See *The Browning Society's Papers*, number nine, 2 : 147, for John Todhunter's paper on "*Strafford* at the Strand Theatre," December 21, 1886; 2 : 175*, notes on this performance; also 2 : 182*; *Edinburgh Review*, 65 : 132. Also W. G. Kingsland's *Robert Browning: Chief Poet of the Age*.

Summum Bonum. *Asolando*, 1889.

According to Krauth's *Vocabulary of the Philosophical Sciences*, this phrase, which means the chief or supreme good, was employed by ancient ethical philosophers to denote that in the prosecution and attainment of which the progress, perfection and happiness of human beings consist. Xenophanes was perhaps the first to use the term, and he considered the *summum bonum* to be a contented acquiescence in the decrees of the Deity. The ancient thinkers thought that happiness, or what is good, is the object to be sought for by man; and out of this ethical principle grew the belief that there is some chief good which is supreme as a means of happiness. Especially the Stoics made this a leading principle; and they discussed it with a high moral purpose. Cicero wrote a book in which he fully discussed this subject in all its phases; it is his *De Finibus. A Treatise on the Chief Good and Evil.* The fifth of his *Tusculan Disputations* treats of virtue as sufficient for happiness. In this book he says: "The conclusion of the Stoics is indeed obvious. Regarding it as the supreme good to live agreeably to nature and in accordance with it, and considering the wise man as not only bound in duty, but also able to live thus, they necessarily infer that the life of him who has the supreme good within his power must be happy. Therefore the wise man's life is always happy."

In this book he enumerates the several opinions entertained among philosophers as to the nature of the supreme good. He says: "The following, I think, are all the opinions held and defended concerning the supreme good and the corresponding extreme of evil. In the first place, there are four simple opinions, — that there is no good but

the right, as the Stoics say; that there is no good but pleasure, according to Epicurus; that there is no good except freedom from pain, as is the opinion of Hieronymus; that there is no good except the enjoyment of the chief, or all, or the greatest goods of nature, as Carneades maintained against the Stoics. These are simple. The others mingle different elements in the good. Thus the Peripatetics, from whom those of the Old Academy differ very little, recognize three classes of goods, — the greatest, those of mind; the second, those of the body; in the third root, external goods. Dinomachus and Calliphon coupled pleasure with the right, and Diodorus, the Peripatetic, annexed painlessness to the right, as constituting the good."

Perhaps it would be truer to say that Epicurus found the *summum bonum* in peace of mind; and now Browning finds it in love. Augustine wrote a treatise *De Summo Bono*. In his *Light of Nature* Tucker has a chapter on "ultimate good," which he says is the right translation of *summum bonum*.

Sun, The. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

The third paragraph describes the period of fire-worship in Persia, which preceded and was absorbed into the religion of Zoroaster. In the *Shah Nameh* Firdusi describes how Husheng, the second king of the Peshdadian dynasty, discovered the worship of fire, and established that sacred flame which was called the "Light of Divinity."

> "Passing, one day, towards the mountain's side,
> Attended by his train, surprised he saw
> Something in aspect terrible, — its eyes
> Fountains of blood; its dreadful mouth sent forth
> Volumes of smoke that darkened all the air.
> Fixing his gaze upon that hideous form,
> He seized a stone, and with prodigious force
> Hurling it, chanced to strike a jutting rock,
> Whence sparks arose, and presently a fire
> O'erspread the plain, in which the monster perished.
> Thus Husheng found the element which shed
> Light through the world. The monarch prostrate bowed,
> Praising the great Creator for the good
> Bestowed on man, and, pious, then he said,
> This is the Light from Heaven, sent down from God;
> If ye be wise, adore and worship it!"

Tale, A. In the second of the *Selections* made from his

poems by Browning himself, the epilogue to the *Two Poets of Croisic* bore this title.

Taurello Salinguerra. The reputed father of Sordello in the poem of that name. See under *Sordello.*

Theocrite. The boy in *The Boy and the Angel*, who becomes the Pope, with the help of the angel Gabriel, but who finds that he has not served God in his true place, and who takes up again his artisan tasks.

"The poets pour us wine —" The epilogue to *Pacchiarotto* begins with these words, quoted from Mrs. Browning's *Wine of Cyprus.* A defense of the poets, and an interpretation of their methods of work.

There's a woman like a dewdrop. First words of the song in *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon.*

The year's at the spring. The song of Pippa in *Pippa Passes*, which she sings as she goes by the house of Ottima, vol. i. p. 337, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works.* This song has been set to music by Cécile Hartog; London, Boosey & Co.

Thorold, Earl Tresham. The older brother of Mildred Tresham, in *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, who stabs her lover, Earl Mertoun, when he thinks that Mertoun has seduced his sister.

Through the Metidja to Abd-el-Kadr, 1842. *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842. *Poems*, 1849; *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Abd-el-Kader ("servant of God") was born near Mascara, Algeria, in 1807. He became known among the Arabs for piety and wisdom, and in 1831 was chosen emir of Mascara. He led the Arabs against the French invaders of the country, who were driven back, and peace was concluded in 1834. In 1839 the French renewed the war, which continued in a desultory manner for some years; but in 1841 a large force invaded the country. Abd-el-Kader showed skill, daring, and power of leadership, and united all the Arab tribes; but he was at last conquered, confined in a French prison for several years, and permitted his freedom by Louis Napoleon, in 1852, on condition that he did not return to Algeria. He then lived in Damascus and Constantinople, and died in 1883. See his biography, by

Churchill, London, 1867. The interest which the exploits of Abd-el-Kader were creating in Europe in 1842 led to the writing of this poem, which represents one of his Arab followers riding through the desert to join his leader. *The Horses of the Sahara and the Manners of the Desert*, by E. Daumas [Melchior Joseph Eugène], contains a series of commentaries on the horse and desert life by Emir Abd-el-Kader. Translated from the French by James Hutton, London, 1863. Abd-el-Kadr in latest edition.

Thus the Mayne glideth. The fourth song in *Paracelsus*, sung by Festus; vol. i. p. 111.

Tiburzio. The commander of the Pisan army, in *Luria*, who reveals to Luria the treachery of the Florentine Signoria, and whose offer of service under Pisa is rejected.

Time's Revenges. First published in *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, seventh number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1845. *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868. See Mrs. Orr and Symons for brief interpretations.

Toccata of Galuppi's, A. An American author, visiting Browning and his wife at Casa Guidi in 1847, wrote of their occupations: "Mrs. Browning," he said, "was still too much of an invalid to walk, but she sat under the great trees upon the lawn-like hillsides near the convent, or in the seats of the dusky convent chapel, while Robert Browning at the organ chased a fugue, or dreamed out upon the twilight keys a faint throbbing *toccata* of Galuppi." Under such circumstances the present poem was conceived and written. It was published in 1855, in the first volume of *Men and Women*. In the *Poetical Works* of 1863 it was put among the *Lyrics*, which in 1868 became *Dramatic Lyrics*.

Baldassare Galuppi was born on the island of Burano, near Venice, October 15, 1706, and for this reason was called Il Buranello. His father was a barber, but fond of music, playing the violin at the theatre, and capable of beginning the instruction of his son. At sixteen Galuppi went to Venice and earned his bread by organ-playing, but through the help of a musical friend he entered the music school called Conservatorio degl' Incurabili. Here he had the instruction of Lotti, one of the great musicians of the day. He wrote an opera at sixteen, *Gli miei Rivali*, which was so bad that it was hissed off the stage. In 1729 he

produced his *Dorinda*, the libretto of which was written by Marcello, who had started him on his musical career; and this piece was a great success. It established his fame, and made every succeeding work of his a success wherever it was presented in Italy. He became the *maestro di capella* of St. Mark's in April, 1762; and at the same time became director of the Incurabili. In 1766 he went to St. Petersburg, at the invitation of the Empress Catherine II., where he did much for the improvement of music, and in producing a taste for this art. He brought out two operas, greatly improving the orchestra for this purpose. One of these was his *Didone abbandonata*, which met with remarkable success. He returned to Venice in 1768, and continued his work at the Incurabili. He produced no less than fifty-four operas, five of which he composed in one year. These were mostly comic, and he is regarded as the father of Italian comic opera. His works have disappeared from the stage since Rossini, though all of them are contained in various libraries. His church music is still sometimes performed in Venice. A sonata of his is printed in Pauer's *Alte Claviermusik*. Galuppi died at Venice, January 3, 1785. He left fifty thousand lire to the poor of the city.

Galuppi was in England from 1741 to 1744, and wrote several operas in London, which he put on the stage there. He was received with much favor, and dramatic music was much influenced by his style. Dr. Burney, the English historian of music, was in Venice in 1770, and found Galuppi respected and prosperous. He described the "novelty, spirit, and delicacy" of Galuppi's music, and found that "fire and imagination" were his chief characteristics.

"Galuppi, who was an immensely prolific composer," says Vernon Lee in her *Studies in the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, "abounded in melody, tender, pathetic, and brilliant, which in its extreme simplicity and slightness occasionally rose to the highest beauty. He was not a very learned composer, used instruments very sparingly, but where, for instance, he introduced wind instruments, it was with a delicate and delightful effect. The purely musical qualities satisfied him, and he defined the qualities of his art to Burney in very moderate terms, clearness, beauty, and good modulation, qualities which he himself possessed

to a high degree, without troubling himself much about any others. . . . Galuppi was a model of the respectable, modest artist, living quietly on a moderate fortune, busy with his art and the education of his numerous children; beloved and revered by his fellow-artists, and, when some fifteen years later he died, honored by them with a splendid funeral, at which all Venetian musicians performed; the great Pacchiarotti writing to Burney that he had 'sung with much devotion to obtain a rest for Buranello's soul.'"

In his *History of Music*, Ritter says that "the main features of Galuppi's operas are melodic elegance, and lively and spirited comic forms; but they are rather thin and weak in execution. He was a great favorite during his lifetime."

Miss Helen J. Ormerod's paper on Browning's poems relating to music, published in the ninth number of the *Browning Society's Papers*, gives an account of the musical significance of this poem. "What a scene rises before us," she says," as Baldassare Galuppi plays his Toccata on the tinkling clavichord of the day, and with what a master hand the poet sketches in for us, so to speak, the dramatic background! The beautiful Italian spring weather, the sea warm in the May sunshine, but then, as now, balls and masks proving more attractive to the fashionable throng than the sweet spring-tide of Nature; suddenly a couple of dancers are singled out of the crowd, and we have a glimpse of a Venetian beauty and her cavalier. . . . The old favorite awed his listeners into silence by the magic of his touch; but some mighty reason must have existed to command silence in that gay throng, for the hearing of a Toccata!

"The minor predominated in this quaint old piece (Toccata, by the way, means *Touch*-piece, and probably was written to display the delicacy of the composer's touch) is evident from the mention of 'those lesser thirds so plaintive, sixths diminished, sigh on sigh; those commiserating sevenths.' The interval of the third is one of the most important: the signature of a piece may mislead one, the same signature standing for a major key and its relative minor; but the third of the opening chord decides the question, a lesser 'plaintive' third (composed of a tone and a semitone) showing the key to be *minor*, the greater third (composed of two whole tones) showing the key to be *major*. Pauer

tells that 'the minor third gives the idea of tenderness, grief, and romantic feeling.' Next come the 'diminished sixths:' these are sixths possessing a semitone less than a minor sixth, for instance from C sharp to A flat; this interval in a different key would stand as a perfect fifth. 'These suspensions, these solutions.' — a suspension is the stoppage of one or more parts for a moment, while the others move on; this produces a dissonance, which is only resolved by the parts which produced it, moving on to the position which would have been theirs had the parts moved simultaneously. We can understand that 'these suspensions, these solutions' might teach the Venetians, as they teach us, lessons of experience and hope; light after darkness, joy after sorrow, smiles after tears. 'These commiserating sevenths:' of all dissonances, none is so pleasing to the ear or so attractive to musicians as that of minor and diminished sevenths, that of the major seventh being crude and harsh; in fact the minor seventh is so charming in its discord as to suggest concord. Again, to quote from Pauer: 'It is the antithesis of discord and concord which fascinates and charms the ear; it is the necessary solution and return to unity which delights us.'

"After all this, the love-making begins again, but kisses are interrupted by the 'dominant's persistence [the dominant is the fifth, the most characteristic note of the scale] till it must be answered to;' this seems to indicate the close of the piece, the dominant being answered by an octave which suggests the perfect authentic cadence, in which the chord of the dominant is followed by that of the tonic."

The authorities on Galuppi are Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Champlin and Apthorp's *Cyclopædia of Music and Musicians*, Hogarth's *Memoirs of the Musical Drama*, Fetis' *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, Burney's *Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771), and Vernon Lee's *Studies*.

See Corson's *Introduction*. In the eleventh number of *The Browning Society's Papers* is a paper on this poem by Mrs. Alexander Ireland, which contains an analysis of its thought, and an account of Galuppi.

To Edward Fitzgerald. In 1889 was published *Letters and Literary Remains* of Edward Fitzgerald, edited by William Aldis Wright. In a letter written by Fitzgerald,

July 15, 1861, to an intimate friend, he said: "Mrs. Browning's death is rather a relief to me, I must say. No more 'Aurora Leighs,' thank God! A woman of real Genius, I know; but what is the upshot of it all? She and her Sex had better mind the Kitchen and their Children and perhaps the Poor. Except in such things as little Novels they only devote themselves to what Men do much better, leaving that which Men do worse or not at all." This thoroughly Oriental conception of woman, probably bred in Fitzgerald by his Eastern studies and expressed in the spirit of the harem, when read by Browning provoked from him a poetic reply. Browning's deep and profound love for his wife could not brook the insult, and his reply was published in *The Athenæum* of July 13, 1889: —

TO EDWARD FITZGERALD.

I chanced upon a new book yesterday;
I opened it, and, where my finger lay
'Twixt page and uncut page, these words I read, —
Some six or seven at most, — and learned thereby
That you, Fitzgerald, whom by ear and eye
She never knew, "thanked God my wife was dead!"

Ay, dead! and were yourself alive, good Fitz,
How to return you thanks would task my wits:
Kicking you seems the common lot of curs —
While more appropriate greeting lends you grace:
Surely to spit there glorifies your face —
Spitting — from lips once sanctified by Hers.

July 8, 1889.

The Athenæum of July 20 contained a note from the editor of Fitzgerald's *Letters*, apologizing for the publication of the offensive words: —

"Trinity College, Cambridge, *July* 16, 1889.

"I feel that by a grave oversight I have allowed a sentence to stand in one of Edward Fitzgerald's letters which has stirred the just resentment of Mr. Browning. Fitzgerald's expression was evidently thrown off with the freedom that men permit themselves in correspondence with their intimate friends; and I feel how great an injustice I have done to Fitzgerald in making public what was but the careless outburst of a passing mood, and thus investing it with a significance which was never designed. That I should have

allowed a passage to remain which has so wronged the dead and pained the living causes me. I need not say, extreme vexation, and I can only beg publicly to express my sincere regret. WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT."

Tokay. See *Nationality in Drinks.*

Too Late. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

Touch him ne'er so lightly. The epilogue to *Dramatic Idyls*, second series, begins with these words. It shows how everything is the source of song to the poet soul. This poem was added to by the poet in the manner described in *The Century* for November, 1882 : —

"The little book, some of whose pages we herewith reproduce, is a tiny autograph album, whose blue plush covers contain, not a mere list of names wrung from bored but complaisant notabilities, but all sorts of willing and charming tributes of friendship in verse, in prose, in picture. We can no further tell who is the owner of this marvelous little album than that it is a young American. It is in the name of charity that she lets us print (with the consent of the authors and their representatives) two of its most notable contributions. The Browning lines have a personal interest ; the first ten appeared in one of his latest volumes ; the last ten are new, and are in explanation (where none should have been demanded) of one of his finest and most characteristic utterances."

> Thus I wrote in London, musing on my betters,
> Poets dead and gone ; and lo, the critics cried,
> "Out on such a boast!" as if I dreamed that fetters
> Binding Dante bind up — me! as if true pride
> Were not also humble!
> So I smiled and sighed
> As I oped your book in Venice this bright morning,
> Sweet new friend of mine! and felt the clay or sand,
> Whatsoe'er my soil be, break — for praise or scorning —
> Out in grateful fancies — weeds ; but weeds expand
> Almost into flowers, held by such a kindly hand.
>
> VENICE, *October*, 1880. ROBERT BROWNING.

"Transcendentalism : A Poem in Twelve Books." *Men and Women*, 1855.

The poet speaks to a young realistic poet, who is writing a poem in twelve books on transcendentalism, and advises him not to make his song too naked, in its attempt to de-

scribe life as it is. In reality men want images and melody in their poetry, not reason. As illustration the poet introduces Boehme and John of Halberstadt, to prove how desirous men are for what appeals to the imagination.

Jacob Boehme was born at Altseidenberg, near Görlitz, Prussia, in 1575, and died at Dresden, November 7, 1624. He was one of the most remarkable of mystics, a man of great originality, who wrote many books on the inner meanings of religion, and who in many ways resembled Swedenborg. His book called *Aurora* is perhaps the best known and most characteristic of his works. He saw hidden meanings in all nature; and the *Bible* he interpreted into an elaborate system of symbolism. The best book on this remarkable man is Martenson's *Jacob Boehme: His Life and Teaching*. Something about him may be found in Erdmann's *History of Philosophy*, and in Overton's *William Law, Non-juror and Mystic*. The incident of Boehme's hearing the plants speak is thus described by Martenson:

"Sitting one day in his room, his eye fell upon a burnished pewter dish, which reflected the sunshine with such marvelous splendor that he fell into an inward ecstasy, and it seemed to him as if he could now look into the principles and deepest foundations of things. He believed that it was only a fancy, and in order to banish it from his mind he went out upon the green. But here he remarked that he gazed into the very heart of things, the very herbs and grass, and that actual nature harmonized with what he had inwardly seen."

Johann Semeca, known as Teutonicus, was a canonist and ecclesiastical dignitary of Halberstadt, who wrote a commentary on the *Decretum Gratiani*. He was also a magician and astrologer, and caused flowers to appear in winter. The poet says he filled the room with roses by magic, a feat not uncommon during the Middle Ages. In Thomas Heywood's *Hierarchy*, book iv. p. 253, another of his magical tricks is described: "Johannes Teutonicus, a canon of Halberstadt in Germany, after he had performed a number of prestigious feats almost incredible, was transported by the Devil in the likeness of a black horse, and was both seen and heard upon one and the same Christmas day to say mass in Halberstadt, in Mayntz, and in Cologne."

The poem in twelve books on transcendentalism had no existence except in the imagination of the poet. It is the work upon which the young poet is supposed to be engaged.

Tray. *Dramatic Idyls*, 1879.

This poem describes an actual incident witnessed in Paris by a friend of Browning's, and with accuracy of detail. The poem was written as a protest against vivisection, which the poet called "an infamous practice." He was early associated with Miss Frances Power Cobbe in her efforts to prevent vivisection; and he was a vice-president of the "Victoria Street Society for the Protection of Animals." Dr. Berdoe says, "He always expressed the utmost abhorrence of the practices which it opposes." To Miss Cobbe he wrote in 1874: "You have heard, 'I take an equal interest with yourself in the effort to suppress vivisection.' I dare not so honor my mere wishes and prayers as to put them for a moment beside your noble acts; but this I know, I would rather submit to the worst of deaths, so far as pain goes, than have a single dog or cat tortured on the pretense of sparing me a twinge or two." He goes even so far as to say that the person not willing to sign the petition against vivisection certainly could not be numbered among his friends. To Miss Stackpoole he wrote in April, 1883: "I despise and abhor the pleas on behalf of that infamous practice, vivisection."

Dr. Berdoe says of this poem: "The poet ridicules the idea that the seat of the soul can be discovered by a more intimate knowledge of the brain, and bitterly satirizes the heartlessness and base ingratitude of our physiologists who use the dog, notwithstanding his intimate relationship to and friendship for man, as the material for the cruel experiments in the physiological laboratory. Not only did Mr. Browning think this to be useless and wicked, but he denounced it as cowardly, even if it could be proved to be useful."

See *Browning's Message to his Time*, by Edward Berdoe.

Twins, The. This poem first appeared in a little volume published in 1854, which bore the title of *Two Poems by E. B. B. and R. B.* It contained *A Plea for the Ragged Schools of London*, by Mrs. Browning; and *The Twins*, by Robert Browning. The volume, of sixteen

pages, was published by Chapman & Hall, London; and it was printed by Miss Arabella Barrett, Mrs. Browning's sister, for a bazaar to benefit the "Refuge for Young Destitute Girls," which she started in or about the year 1854. This refuge, if not the first of its kind, was one of the first, and is still in existence. *Men and Women*, 1855; *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

This poem is a poetical rendering of a passage in the *Table Talk* of Martin Luther, which in William Hazlitt's translation is numbered three hundred and sixteen, and is among the sayings "Of Justification:" "Give and it shall be given unto you; this is a fine maxim, and makes people poor and rich. . . . There is in Austria a monastery which, in former times, was very rich, and remained rich so long as it was charitable to the poor; but when it ceased to give, then it became indigent, and is so to this day. Not long since, a poor man went there and solicited alms, which was denied him; he demanded the cause why they refused to give for God's sake? The porter of the monastery answered: 'We are become poor;' whereupon the mendicant said: 'The cause of your poverty is this: Ye had formerly in this monastery two brethren, the one named *Date* (give), and the other *Dabitur* (it shall be given you). The former ye thrust out; and the other went away of himself. . . . Beloved, he that desires to have anything must also give; a liberal hand was never in want or empty.'"

Two Camels. *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884.

Nishapur and *Sebzevar* are two Persian towns. — For an account of *Lilith* see in this volume *Adam, Lilith, and Eve.* — The first Hebrew quotation is translated as a "Persian phrase" in the following line: the second is "Me Elohim" (from Elohim), one of the names of God in Genesis.

Two in the Campagna. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868. In his *Life* of Browning, Sharp mentions this poem as having been based on personal experience, during the residence of the poet and his wife in Rome, in the spring of 1850. He attributes no value to this experience, however, as an element in the production of the poem.

Two Poets of Croisic, The. Published in 1878, by Smith, Elder & Co., London, in *La Saisiaz: The Two*

Poets of Croisic, pages, 87–191, with prologue and epilogue.

The scene of this poem is a village on the southern coast of Brittany, France. It lies about half way between Nantes and Vannes, but off the main route of travel, on a little peninsula, which also bears the name of Le Croisic, that projects into the Bay of Biscay. Baedeker's *Northern France* describes the place in the concise manner of the guide-book: "Le Croisic, a seaport with 2,460 inhabitants, is one of the most fashionable watering-places in La Basse Bretagne. It is finely situated on a small bay near the extremity of the peninsula, and contains a casino and many pleasant villas. Its beach is not so sheltered as that of the places mentioned above, and the sea-water is strong; but there are many shady walks in and near it. The sardine fishing occupies a large proportion of the inhabitants of Le Croisic."

In her *Through Brittany*, Mrs. Katherine S. Macquoid describes the place as having an hôtel and établissement des bains, a hydropathic establishment, and in the town a small, cheap boarding-house, Pension Jeanne. In describing her visit to the village, of which her book gives an illustration, Mrs. Macquoid says: "We drove on to Le Croisic through the salt marshes. These perpetual long squares into which the country is divided give a dull, monotonous effect; but before us, and indeed all around us, we could see the sea, and very soon we reached Le Croisic. At first sight it looks like a dull little fishing-village. The port is completely enclosed by small islands, and a long artificial causeway, called the Chaussée de Pembron, built to preserve the salt marshes from the inroads of the sea, for there seems to be little doubt that the whole of the peninsula, including Le Croisic, Batz, and Le Pouliguen, was at one time an island, and that by degrees the channel between it and the mainland has transformed itself into salt-marshes. There are plenty of fishing-boats and stalwart-looking fishermen; but, following the straggling line of granite houses which surrounds the bay, we remarked that many of them were very curious, and almost all were very ancient in appearance. Farther on is some higher ground, grassed sand-hills with furze and broom at intervals, and shaded by trees, and from this, at

some distance, we saw the pier stretching into the sea. Near the pier are the établissement des bains and the hôtel. . . . There is little to see in Le Croisic itself, though it is a good plan to stay a few days there, so as to see something of the very original inhabitants of this peninsula. The church Notre Dame de la Pitié is not remarkable. Another chapel, St. Goustan, is now closed, but the women of Croisic still pray there for those at sea. From the Mont Esprit, at the end of the promenade called Le Mail, there is an excellent view of the town and harbor of Le Croisic; the town surrounded by the sandy waste of salt pans, and rising from these the church towers of Batz and of La Guérande. Beyond the harbor is the Atlantic; there is a fine sea view from Mont Lenigo. The population seems to be partly composed of fishermen and partly of salt-workers; but there is here, as well as in the Bourg de Batz, a certain separateness and exclusiveness of both costume and ideas. The people of Le Croisic call themselves Croisicais, in contradistinction to Bretons, but they do not seem so fine a race as the people of the Bourg de Batz. Alain Bouchart, the historian, was born at Le Croisic; and in the fifteenth century this town seems to have been rich and prosperous, the centre of the salt-trade."

Mrs. Bury Palliser, in her *Brittany and its Byways*, gives an illustration of Le Croisic, and of the process of making salt on the marshes, which is carried on extensively in the neighborhood. She gives additional information about the place: "We drove on to Le Croisic, in Breton, 'Little Cross,' so called from the small Chapel of the Crucifix, built to commemorate the baptism by St. Felix, Bishop of Nantes, in the sixth century, of the Saxon colony who occupied the peninsula. Le Croisic was one of the first towns in Brittany which received Christianity, and bears for its arms a cross between four ermines. Along the roadside are cisterns or wells dug in the sand, and girls were filling with water the classical stone pitchers they carried upon their heads, — quite an Eastern picture, suggestive of Rebecca and the damsels of her country. Le Croisic is almost surrounded by the sea, low and without shelter, which renders it cold, damp, and exposed to the winds; turf is almost the only fuel used." Batz and La Guérande are villages on

the peninsula of Le Croisic and near the village of that name. Hervé Riel, the hero of Browning's poem with that title, was a native of Le Croisic.

Le Croisic does a good business in salt, herrings, mackerel, and especially has a large market for sardines. The town has a custom-house, justice of the peace, church, hospital, and a convent. The freestone belfry of the church Notre Dame de la Pitié serves as a beacon for sailors. A light-house is located at the entrance to the harbor. The place was founded by the Saxons in the fifth century, and it obtained many privileges during the reign of the Dukes of Burgundy.

Mrs. Palliser describes in one of her chapters the Druidical monuments at Carnac in Morbihan, only a short distance from Le Croisic, to which Browning refers in the poem. This region was the seat of the Druids in the time of their prosperity, and here they gathered from all the places of their worship for conference and the most imposing rites. The remarkable monuments at Carnac and elsewhere in this region are described in both the books just mentioned, as well as in other works.

Browning spent one or more summers in Le Croisic and its neighborhood, and out of this actual acquaintance with the village grew the poem. He heard the traditions concerning two poets who once lived in the village, and these he relates as they came to him on the spot. The first of these is René Gentilhomme, of whom little is known, so little that his name does not appear in any of the usual sources of information on biographical and literary subjects. He was a native of Le Croisic, born in 1610. He was a maker of verses, as was his father before him. Having become the page of the prince of Condé, he spent his leisure in writing complimentary verses. As Louis XIII. and his brother were both childless, the prince of Condé, usually called the Duke, was the heir to the throne. One day a ducal crown in the room where René sat was shattered by lightning. He took this as a sign from heaven that the prince of Condé was not to become king; and he made a bold poem, in which he declared that a dauphin would be born the next year. When this came to the king's ears, he made René his royal poet. As a dauphin was born the next

year, René was regarded as a seer, and got all the honors due that kind of a personage. After this the poet wrote no more poetry, and a thin volume of rhymes was all that could be given to the public as the product of his muse.

A hundred years later, another poet was born in Le Croisic, and he tried to find out all he could about René Gentilhomme; but he found little information to reward his search. This later poet was born in 1699, and his name was Paul Desforges-Maillard. He was a man of some importance in his neighborhood, for he was a member of the academies of Rochelle, Caen, and Nancy. Almost nothing is now known of him, except an incident which occurred in connection with his competition for a prize on the art of navigation, offered by the French Academy. He did not obtain the prize, and his poem was returned to him. At this he was indignant, and his indignation led him to seek to prove to the public that he had not been justly dealt with by the judges. To this end he sent his poems to *Le Mercure*, but the editor, La Roque, respectfully declined to print them. Desforges insisted upon their publication, taking the editor's praise, and his declaration that he did not wish to offend the Academy, as an expression of cowardice. When he wrote La Roque an angry letter, taking him to task for his want of bravery and justice, the editor threw his poems into the fire, and wrote him that they were too poor to print. Desforges, in despair at this cruel cutting short of the fame he had hoped for, had recourse to a singular artifice. He was living then at Brederac, close to a vineyard called Malcrais. Taking a sister into his confidence, he had her copy out some of his poorest poems, which he sent to La Roque as the poems of Mlle. Malcrais de la Vigne. With these the editor was greatly delighted, coming to him as they did in a feminine handwriting, and perhaps with a little feminine flattery added. La Roque not only printed the poems, but wrote a most glowing letter to the supposed poetess, and even conceived a violent passion for the muse of Le Croisic. He took the liberty of writing her: "I love you, my dear friend of Brittany. Pardon me this confession, but the words have slipped from my pen." La Roque was not the only one duped by this poetical deception. One could not speak enough in Paris of the verses

of the divine Malcrais. There was not a poet who was not eager to render her honor through the medium of *Le Mercure*. Voltaire and Destouches, among the leading authors, made themselves the most conspicuous; and they were for the moment jealous of each other because of the answers, more or less tender, which they received from the coquette. Voltaire wrote of her this line: "Thou whose brilliant voice hast resounded upon our banks." This poem was printed in the works of Voltaire, and of all the many verses with which the false Malcrais inspired her lovers these are the only ones which remain. Those of Destouches had no value whatever, and have passed into oblivion.

When Desforges at last grew tired of his little comedy, and revealed his true sex, most of his admirers were at first not a little ashamed because of the public part he had made them play as his admirers. As soon as they had recovered from the first surprise and mortification, they saw that the mystery he had created was more awkward for him than for them. They sought to depreciate his verses and to render him ridiculous; and this it was easy to accomplish, for he had too little real merit to resist the reaction which his own methods had created.

Some time after this occurrence Desforges, who was not rich, begged of Voltaire to aid him in finding friends and a position in Paris. The author of *Zaire*, who was too cunning or too generous to harbor the least resentment, exerted himself with a good grace to help the once famous writer of *Le Mercure*. "I am reminded always," wrote Voltaire, "of the coquetries of Mdlle. Malcrais, in spite of your beard and of mine; and if I cannot make love to you, I will try and render you a service. I expect to see M. ——, the contrôleur-général, this summer. I shall look for a good opportunity to serve you; and I shall be very happy if I can obtain something from the Plutus of Versailles in favor of the Apollo of Brittany." It would appear, however, that the praises of Voltaire were greater than his practical helpfulness.

Very correct in his morals and upright in his character, Desforges has not ranked high as a poet. He was destitute of taste, and his style was flat and verbose. A few of his poetical tales remind one in a distant way of the epigrams

of Rousseau. The *Poésies de Mlle. Malcrais de la Vigne* were published in 1735, and a volume of *Idyls* by Desforges was published in 1751. His *Works in Verse and Prose* were issued in two volumes at Amsterdam in 1759. Paul Desforges-Maillard died December 10, 1772. The incident which forms the chief event in the life of Desforges became the subject of a comedy by Piron, which he called *Métromanie*. See *Biographie Universelle* for the leading facts in the life of Desforges.

The *Two Poets of Croisic* was begun at the village from which the poem takes its name in the autumn of 1868. Browning was at Le Croisic with his sister during the month of September of that year, and then it was he came into possession of the facts he has used in the poem. The incidents of which he makes use, as well as those connected with the career of Hervé Riel, he found in books devoted to local history and traditions.

Up at a Villa — Down in the City. (As distinguished by an Italian Person of Quality.) *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Valence. In *Colombe's Birthday*, an advocate of Cleves. He is the representative of Prince Berthold, — the lawful claimant to the duchy held by Colombe. He loves Colombe, and is finally accepted by her in preference to the prince, who does not love her. See *The Browning Society's Papers*, 2 : 87, for a study of this character.

Verse-making was the least of my virtues. The first words of the ninth lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies*.

Vincent Parkes. In *Martin Relph*, the lover of Rosamund Page, a girl who is to be shot for treason unless he brings proof of her innocence within a given time. At the last moment Relph sees him coming, but gives no warning; Rosamund is shot, and Parkes, hearing the volley, falls dead.

Violante Comparini. The reputed mother of Pompilia, in *The Ring and the Book*. She had bought Pompilia of a bad woman, palmed off the child on her husband as her own, secured her marriage to Count Guido, confessed her sin when she found it was the best policy, and was murdered by the count in company with her husband and Pompilia.

Wall, A. The prologue to *Pacchiarotto* was printed under this title in the Second Series of *Selections* made from his poems by Browning, 1880. See, in this work, *Prologue to Pacchiarotto.*

Wanting is — What? *Jocoseria*, 1883.

A lyrical plea for that love which perfects life, which Browning describes, in the fifty-fifth section of *Fifine at the Fair*, as "the beautiful."

Waring. *Dramatic Lyrics*, third number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, 1842. *Poems*, 1849; *Romances*, 1863; *Dramatic Romances*, 1868.

The *Waring* of this poem was Alfred Domett, the poet, who was born in the same neighborhood as Browning, grew up with him, and associated with him in his studies and poetical labors. He is also mentioned in *The Guardian Angel*, where he is called "Alfred, dear friend!"

Alfred Domett, son of Nathaniel Domett, was born at Camberwell Grove, Surrey, May 20, 1811. His father was a seaman under Nelson, and a gallant sailor. Alfred entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1829; but after a residence of three years he left without graduation. His attention was early turned to literature, and in 1832 he published a volume of poems. He also contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* various lyrics which attracted attention to him as a rising poet. One of these was *A Christmas Hymn*, which is the best known of all his poems, and has been highly praised. It may be found in several poetical collections, and among them *Festival Poems*. In 1839, in the same magazine, he published a poem on *Venice*.

Domett was called to the bar in 1841, and lived in the Middle Temple with Joseph Arnold, who became Chief Justice of Bombay. He was handsome and attractive, well received in society, and a favorite with his literary friends. Before this, however, he had spent two years in traveling in America, including a winter in the backwoods of Canada; and then two years more in Switzerland, Italy, and other Continental countries. In 1842 he was persuaded to go to New Zealand by his cousin, William Young, whose father was a large land owner there, in connection with the New Zealand Company. In May, 1842, he went out to that colony among the earliest settlers. It was immediately

after his departure that Browning wrote his *Waring*, which describes his friend very accurately, and the circumstances of his sudden absence from London. On arriving in New Zealand, Domett found that his cousin had just been drowned. He settled in the county of Wairoa, on the North Island. In *The Guardian Angel* Browning addressed him: —

> "Where are you, dear old friend?
> How rolls the Wairo at your world's far end?"

Soon after his arrival Domett was made a magistrate with a salary of £700 a year. Before leaving England Domett was permanently lamed by an accident to one of his legs, which saved his life soon after he reached the colony, for it prevented his accepting the invitation of some treacherous native chiefs to a banquet at which all the English guests were killed. In his *Narrative of the Wairou Massacre*, 1843, he described this event.

In 1848 he was made the Colonial Secretary for the southern part of the North Island; and in 1851 he was also appointed the Civil Secretary for the whole of New Zealand, holding both offices until the introduction of the new constitution, in 1853. Having resigned these offices, he accepted one of more work and less remuneration, as Commissioner of Crown Lands, and Resident Magistrate at Hawke's Bay; and of this district he had virtually the sole official management. In 1859 he represented the town of Nelson in the House of Representatives, and he was re-elected the following year.

In 1862, at a critical moment in the affairs of New Zealand, Domett was called upon to form a new government, which he successfully accomplished, becoming the Prime Minister. William Gisborne, who was a member of the New Zealand House of Representatives, and a Minister, in his *New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen*, published in London in 1886, says of the poet: "Mr. Domett is a man of large mind, of intellect highly cultivated, and of great literary accomplishments. His prose writings, contained in leading newspaper articles known to come from his pen, and in public documents, are remarkably well written, and convey clear thoughts and close argument in

vigorous language. His poetry is of a high order. In fact, he is more a poet than a politician. When I say that he is more a poet than a politican, I do not mean to convey the idea that his poetic qualities incapacitated him as a public man. Far from it. He abounded in imaginative and creative power, in tender sensibility, in fine taste, in great aims, and in affluence of expression. But these qualities are not repugnant to public capacity. What Mr. Domett failed in was as a politician in the parliamentary sense, namely, as a party man, and as a minister under responsible government. He was a law-worshiper, and admired splendid autocracy. The seamy side of political life, as seen in the parliamentary system, was not congenial to his taste, and he was not fit to work out what he regarded as a lower level of public service. As a public man, however, apart from a politician in the foregoing sense, Mr. Domett was, although a poet, greatly distinguished. Left as it were to himself, he did great and good work. The petition which he wrote in 1845 to Parliament for the recall of Governor Fitzroy was a most masterly document. Mr. Charles Buller described it as a petition drawn with singular ability and industry, and giving a sound and wise view of the past history and actual condition of the colony. In 1850 Mr. Domett compiled a classification of the laws of New Zealand, — a standard and most valuable work. As chief government officer in the new district of Hawke's Bay, 1854–56, left without instructions, and acting on his own responsibility, he did admirable service in his official capacity in maintaining the peace, and administering the public lands of the district, and in generally promoting the welfare of the community of both races. At Nelson, as Commissioner of Crown Lands, he effected valuable reforms in the Land and Survey offices. As Prime Minister of the colony in 1863, he devised and embodied, alone and unassisted, as the document itself shows in a valuable memorandum, a large scheme for the settlement and self-defense of New Zealand. This scheme, owing to dissensions in the Ministry, and other causes, was never carried into effect. Its statesmanlike character is, I think, unimpeachable. As Secretary for Crown Lands of the colony from 1864 to 1871, Mr. Domett showed great capacity for

the fulfillment of very difficult duties. In 1870, when he held a seat in the Legislative Council, he was specially excepted, during his tenure of the office of Secretary for Crown Lands, from the law of Parliamentary disqualification. This was done for the avowed reason that, as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Waste Lands, his assistance was so valuable. Mr. Domett was also for many years the mainstay of the General Assembly Library. He was, it may be said, the father of that institution, and it is mainly owing to his love of literature, and to his great ability in the organization and classification of a library, that the success of the institution, with comparative small means, was so marked at the date of his departure from the colony in 1871. Mr. Domett was not a character which those who run can read. His are not the qualities which at once attract admiration and fascinate attention. He does not put his best wares in his shop windows. Only those who penetrate the inner chambers of his mind can see its great powers, its wealth of information, and find themselves in the presence of genius. Fluent in writing, he is embarrassed in speech, and his ability to give full utterance to what he strongly feels leads to the impression that he is somewhat dictatorial and irritable, though, in fact, beneath the surface there is depth of gentleness and good nature. Mr. Domett was made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1880."

In 1871, Domett returned to London, and took up his residence at Phillimore Terrace, Kensington; and afterwards at St. Charles's Square, North Kensington. He had married a handsome English lady while yet a resident in New Zealand. He saw much of Browning; he became an interested member of the Browning Society, and one of its vice-presidents. "His grand white head," says Mr. F. J. Furnivall, "was to be seen at all the Society's performances and at several of its meetings. He naturally preferred Mr. Browning's early works to the later ones. He could not be persuaded to write any account of his early London days. Mr. Domett produced with pride his sea-stained copy of Browning's *Bells and Pomegranates*. A sterling, manly, independent nature was Alfred Domett's. He impressed every one with whom he came in contact, and is deeply regretted by his remaining friends."

In 1872 Domett published in London his *Ranolf and Amohia, a South-Sea Day Dream*, a poem descriptive of New Zealand, its scenery, and the legends and habits of the Maori inhabitants. This poem was afterwards revised, enlarged, and published in two volumes. In 1877 appeared a volume of his short poems, including those published before he went to New Zealand, under the title of *Flotsam and Jetsam, Rhymes Old and New*. Stedman speaks of the promise of his early poems, and of the brilliant future they indicated. He describes his *Ranolf and Amohia* as "a poem justly praised by Browning for varied beauty and power, but charged with the diffuseness, transcendentalism, defects of art and action, that were current among Domett's radical brethren so many years ago." In this South Sea poem Domett gives the following characterization of Browning as a poet: —

> "Strange melodies
> That lustrous Song-Child languished to impart,
> Breathing his boundless Love through boundless Art —
> Impassioned Seraph, from his mint of gold
> By our full-handed Master-Maker flung;
> By him, whose lays, like eagles, still upwheeling
> To that shy Empyrean of high feeling,
> Float steadfast in the luminous fold on fold
> Of wonder-cloud around its sun-depths rolled.
> Whether he paint, all patience and pure snow,
> Pompilia's fluttering innocence unsoiled; —
> In verse, though fresh as dew, one lava flow
> In fervor — with rich Titian-dyes aglow —
> Paint Paracelsus to grand frenzy stung,
> Quixotic dreams and fiery quackeries foiled; —
> Or — of Sordello's delicate Spirit unstrung
> For action, in its vast Ideal's glare
> Blasting the Real to its own dumb despair, —
> On that Venetian water-lapped stair-flight,
> In words condensed to diamond, indite
> A lay dark — splendid as star-spangled Night: —
> Still — though the pulses of the world-wide throng
> He wields, with racy life-blood beat so strong —
> Subtlest Assertor of the Soul in song!"

In his *Living Authors of England* Thomas Powell describes the event which gave origin to the writing of *Waring*, the "young author" mentioned being himself: "We have a vivid recollection of the last time we saw him. It was at an evening party, a few days before he last sailed

from England ; his intimate friend, Mr. Browning, was also present. It happened that the latter was introduced that evening, for the first time, to a young author who had just then appeared in the literary world. This, consequently, prevented the two friends from conversation, and they parted from each other without the slightest idea, on Mr. Browning's part, that he was seeing his old friend Domett for the last time. Some days after, when he found that Domett had sailed, he expressed in strong terms, to the writer of this sketch, the self-reproach he felt at having preferred the conversation of a stranger to that of his old associate."

The authorities for the biography of Domett are Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography : Men of the Time*, twelfth edition ; Gisborne's *New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen ;* Powell's *Living Authors of England*, which contains several selections from Domett's early poetry ; and *The Browning Society's Papers*, number seven, 2 : 223*. Gisborne's book contains a portrait. Stedman's *Victorian Poets* gives a brief critical estimate of Domett's poetry.

See *The Browning Society's Papers*, 1 : 107*, and Nettleship's *Essays and Thoughts.*

When I vexed you and you chid me. The first line of the seventh lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies.*

Which ? *Asolando*, 1889.

White Witchcraft. *Asolando*, 1889.

In this poem there is probably some reminiscence of the fifth and seventeenth epodes of Horace, which are addressed to Canidia, the name which Horace gave to the sorceress Gratidia. These odes describe the charms used by some of the women of Rome ; and they represent Canidia as a creature devoted to the vilest arts. Nothing but the name Canidia is drawn from Horace ; and a much later time gives the other suggestions of the poem.

There were three kinds of witches, — the black, the gray, and the white. The black witches were wholly evil, and were powerful to injure men. The white had the power to help, but not to hurt. According to Viktor Rydberg, in his *Magic of the Middle Ages*, " only among nations holding dualistic views do we meet with magic in two forms : with the priests, a *white* and a *black*, — the former as a good

gift of Ormuzd, the latter as the evil gift of Ahriman; with the Christians of the Middle Ages, a celestial magic and a diabolical, — the former a privilege of the church and conferred by God as a weapon to aid in the conquest of Satan; the latter an infernal art to further unbelief and wickedness."

The writer of a *Short Discoverie of Unobserved Dangers*, published in 1612, said of white witchcraft: "The mention of witchcraft doth now occasion the remembrance of a sort of practitioners whom our custom and country doth call wise men and women, reputed a kind of good and honest witches or wizards, who, by good words, by hallowed herbs and salves, and other superstitious ceremonies, promise to allay and calm devils, practices of other witches, and the forces of many diseases."

Cotter, in his *Tryall of Witchcraft*, says: "This kind is not obscure at this day, swarming in this kingdom, whereof no man can be ignorant who lusteth to observe the uncontrouled liberty and licence of open and ordinary resort in all places unto *wise* men and *wise* women, so vulgarly termed for their reputed knowledge concerning diseased persons as are supposed to be bewitched."

Thomas Cooper, in his *Mystery of Witchcraft*, 1617, said that there are good witches as well as bad ones, that the good witches are called the *unbinding* ones, because they undo what the bad ones do. Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, said "they can effect such cures; the main question is whether it be lawful in a desperate case to crave their help or ask a wizard's advice. 'T is a common practice of some men to go first to a witch and then to a physician. If one cannot help the other shall."

The other allusion will be explained by a reference to the *Zoölogical Mythology* of Angelo de Gubernatis. In many places in Europe the toad is respected and venerated as a sacred animal, because it is considered as a diabolical form imposed by force upon a divine or princely being. A Tuscan song records the transformation of a beautiful maiden into a toad; and various legends describe the magical process of changing a beautiful youth or maiden into the form of the same creature. The toad's-stone or bufonite is widely regarded as a means of keeping its wearer

from being poisoned; and it is supposed to be taken out of a toad's head. "Out of the toad, the dark animal of the night, the gloom or winter, the solar pearl comes; thus popular German stories regard the *Schild-kröte*, or toad with the shield, as sacred, on account of the pearl supposed to be contained in its head."

Why I am a Liberal. In 1885 Cassell & Co., London, published a volume edited by Andrew Reid, in which a number of leaders of English thought answered the question, "Why I am a Liberal?" To this volume Browning contributed a poem, reprinted in the Riverside edition of his poems, 1889, at the end of the sixth volume.

WHY I AM A LIBERAL.

"Why?" Because all I haply can and do,
All that I am now, all I hope to be, —
Whence comes it save from fortune setting free
Body and soul the purpose to pursue,
God traced for both? If fetters, not a few,
Of prejudice, convention, fall from me,
These shall I bid men — each in his degree
Also God-guided — bear, and gayly, too?

But little do or can the best of us:
That little is achieved through Liberty.
Who, then, dares hold, emancipated thus,
His fellow shall continue bound? Not I,
Who live, love, labor freely, nor discuss
A brother's right to freedom. That is "Why."

Wish no word unspoken. The first words of the lyric following the second dialogue or poem in *Ferishtah's Fancies.*

Woman's Last Word. A. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

This poem has been set to music by Leslie Johnson, and published by the London Browning Society. Under the title *Only Sleep*, the same composer and publisher have used the poem with another setting.

Women and Roses. *Men and Women*, 1855. *Lyrics*, 1863; *Dramatic Lyrics*, 1868.

Worst of It, The. *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864.

Xanthus. One of the attendants of St. John in *A Death in the Desert.*

You groped your way across my room. The first words of the third lyric in *Ferishtah's Fancies.*

You 'll love me yet. The song of the second girl in *Pippa Passes,* vol. i. p. 359, Riverside edition of Browning's *Works.*

Youth and Art. *Dramatis Personæ,* 1864.

See Rolfe's *Select Poems* for a brief interpretation. Rolfe points out the resemblance of this poem in idea to *The Statue and the Bust.*

APPENDIX.

Cardinal and the Dog, The. *Asolando*, 1889. An account of Crescenzio has been discovered in Moreri's *Dictionnaire Historique*, which has been translated as follows:

"Marcel Crescentio, Cardinal Bishop of Marsico, in the kingdom of Naples, was born in Rome, of one of the most noble and ancient families. From his youth he made great progress in letters, particularly in civil and canon law. He had a canonship in the Church of St. Mary Major, and was also given the office of the Auditor of the Rota. Then Pope Clement VII. named him for the bishopric of Marsico, and Pope Paul III. made him Cardinal, June 2, 1542.

"Crescentio was Protector of the Order of Citeaux, perpetual Legate at Bologna, Bishop of Conserans, etc. Julius III. named him Legate to preside at the Council of Trent, and he presided there at the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth sessions. The latter ended in 1552, and the Cardinal Crescentio, who was ill, remained in Trent. Rumor said that his malady came upon him in this way: After working almost the whole of the night of March 20 to write to the Pope, as he arose from his seat he imagined that he saw a dog that opened its jaws frightfully, and appeared to him with its flaming eyes and low-hanging ears as if mad, and about to attack him.

"Crescentio called his servants at once, and made them bring lights, but the dog could not be found. The Cardinal, terrified by this spectre, fell into a deep melancholy, and then immediately into a sickness which made him despair of recovery, although his friends and physicians assured him that there was nothing to fear. This is the story about the end of Cardinal Crescentio, who died at Verona the first of June, 1552. It could have been invented only

by ill-meaning people, who lacked respect for the Council. The Cardinal's body was carried to Rome."

O Love! Love! The lyric from *Hippolytus*, translated for Mahaffy's *Euripides*, is as follows: —

I.

O Love! Love! thou that from the eyes diffusest
Yearning, and on the soul sweet grace inducest, —
Souls against whom thy hostile march is made, —
Never to me be manifest in ire,
Nor, out of time and tune, my peace invade!
Since neither from the fire —
No, nor from the stars — is launched a bolt more mighty
Than that of Aphrodité
Hurled from the hands of Love, the boy with Zeus for sire.

II.

Idly, how idly, by the Alpheian river
And in the Pythian shrines of Phœbus, quiver
Blood-offerings from the bull, which Hellas heaps:
While Love we worship not — the Lord of men!
Worship not him, the very key who keeps
Of Aphrodité, when
She closes up her dearest chamber-portals:
— Love, when he comes to mortals,
Wide-wasting, through those deeps of woes beyond the deep!

One Word More. *Men and Women*, 1855. In *The Academy* for January 10, 1891, are printed Mr. W. M. Rossetti's explanations of some of the allusions in this poem: —

"I understand the allusions, but Browning is far from accurate in them.

"1. Towards the end of the *Vita Nuova*, Dante says that, on the first anniversary of the death of Beatrice, he began drawing an angel, but was interrupted by certain people of distinction, who entered on a visit. Browning is therefore wrong in intimating that the angel was painted 'to please Beatrice.'

"2. Then Browning says that the pen with which Dante drew the angel was, perhaps, corroded by the hot ink in which it had previously been dipped for the purpose of denouncing a certain wretch, *i. e.* one of the persons named in his *Inferno*. This about the ink, as such, is Browning's own figure of speech, not got out of Dante.

"3. Then Browning speaks of Dante's having 'his left

hand i' the hair o' the wicked,' etc. This refers to *Inferno*, Canto 32, where Dante meets (among the traitors to their country) a certain Bocca degli Abati, a notorious Florentine traitor, dead some years back, and Dante clutches and tears at Bocca's hair to compel him to name himself, which Bocca would much rather not do.

"4. Next Browning speaks of this Bocca as being a 'live man.' Here Browning confounds two separate incidents. Bocca is not only damned, but also dead; but further on — Canto 33 — Dante meets another man, a traitor against his familiar friend. This traitor is Frate Alberigo, one of the Manfredi family of Faenza. This Frate Alberigo was, though damned, not, in fact, dead; he was still alive, and Dante makes it out that traitors of this sort are liable to have their souls sent to hell before the death of their bodies. A certain Branca d' Oria, Genoese, is in like case — damned, but not dead.

"5. Browning proceeds to speak of 'the wretch going festering through Florence.' This is a relapse into his mistake, — the confounding of the dead Florentine Bocca degli Abati with the living (though damned) Faentine and Genoese traitors, Frate Alberigo and Branca d' Oria, who had nothing to do with Florence."

Ponte dell' Angelo, Venice. *Asolando*, 1889. This is a well-known bridge in Venice, described in any of the guide-books. The story told is from the *Annales* of Father Boverio, as the poet says. Moreri's *Dictionnaire Historique* gives an account of this old chronicler. "Zaccaria Boverio, an Italian Capuchin monk, was born at Saluzzo in 1568, and taught philosophy and theology in his Order. He was a faithful monk, and fond of the retired life thus afforded. He occupied himself in the composition of various works, such as *Les Annales des Capucins*, in two volumes; *Demonstrationes symbolicæ veræ and falsæ Religionis adversus Atheistas Judæas Hereticas; Censura parænetica in Marcum-Antonium de Dominis*, etc. Father Boverio died at Genoa, May 31, 1638, aged seventy years."

Rephan. *Asolando*, 1889. In a foot-note Browning says this poem was "suggested by a very early recollection of a prose story by the noble woman and imaginative writer, Jane Taylor, of Norwich." This is a slip of pen or memory for "Jane Taylor of Ongar."

Jane Taylor was one of the earliest writers of books for children, and especially of religious books. She was the second sister of Isaac Taylor, the author of *The Natural History of Enthusiasm*, *The Physical Theory of Another Life*, *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, and other works. She was born in 1783. The greater part of her life was spent at Ongar, and with her sister Ann she wrote *Hymns for Infant Minds*. She also wrote *Display*, a novel; *Essays in Rhyme on Morals and Manners*; and *The Contributions of Q. Q.* Her *Twinkle, twinkle, little Star*, and *My Mother*, are now the best known of her poems. After her death in 1824, at the age of forty, her *Memoirs* were written by her brother Isaac, and they were published in connection with her correspondence. Her complete works, including the *Memoirs*, have been published in three volumes.

Walter Scott spoke of Jane Taylor as "among the first women of her time," and Mrs. Oliphant has praised her in *The Literary History of England in the Eighteenth Century*. The best articles about Jane Taylor are in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 139 : 23, by Mrs. L. B. Walford; and another in *The Living Age*, 96 : 323.

Mrs. Oliphant mentions the fact that she early read, with great appreciation, a prose sketch called *How it Strikes a Stranger*, contained in Jane Taylor's *The Contributions of Q. Q.*, the first volume. Curiously, this is the prose story which suggested to Browning the present poem. The story is an attempt to show how a rational being would regard death, if it were suddenly brought to his knowledge in connection with the promise of immortality. Jane Taylor presents the conventional view of the subject. As indicating how a mere hint or an indistinct recollection was used by Browning, this story may be read with much profit: —

HOW IT STRIKES A STRANGER.

In a remote period of antiquity, when the supernatural and the marvelous obtained a readier credence than now, it was fabled that a stranger of extraordinary appearance was observed pacing the streets of one of the magnificent cities of the East, remarking with an eye of intelligent curiosity every surrounding object. Several individuals, gathering around him, questioned him concerning his country

and his business; but they presently perceived that he was unacquainted with their language, and he soon discovered himself to be equally ignorant of the most common usages of society. . . . After a time, it is said that the mysterious stranger accepted the hospitalities of one of the nobles of the city, under whose roof he applied himself with great diligence to the acquirement of the language. . . .

Suddenly raising his eyes to the starry firmament, he fixed them with an expressive gaze on the beautiful evening star which was just sinking behind a dark grove that surrounded one of the principal temples of the city. "Marvel not," said he to his host, "that I am wont to gaze with fond affection on yon silvery star. That was my home; yes, I was lately an inhabitant of that tranquil planet, from whence a vain curiosity has tempted me to wander." . . .

The emotion which the stranger had betrayed, when he received the first idea of death, was yet slight in comparison with that which he experienced as soon as he gathered from the discourses of the priests some notion of immortality, and of the alternative of happiness or misery in a future state. But this agony of mind was exchanged for transport when he learned that, by the performance of certain conditions before death, the state of happiness might be secured; his eagerness to learn the nature of these terms excited the surprise and even the contempt of his sacred teachers. They advised him to remain satisfied for the present with the instructions he had received, and to defer the remainder of the discussion till the morrow.

"How!" exclaimed the novice; "say you not that death may come at any hour? May it not, then, come this hour? and what if it should come before I have performed these conditions! Oh! withhold not this excellent knowledge from me a single moment!"

The priests, suppressing a smile at his simplicity, then proceeded to explain their theology to their attentive auditor: but who shall describe the ecstasy of his happiness when he was given to understand that the required conditions were, generally, of easy and pleasant performance; and that the occasional difficulties or inconveniences which might attend them would entirely cease with the short term of his earthly existence. "If, then, I understand you rightly," said he to his instructors, "this event which you call death, and which seems in itself strangely terrible, is most desirable and blissful. What a favor is this which is granted to me, in being sent to inhabit a planet in which I can die!" The priests again exchanged smiles with each other; but their ridicule was wholly lost upon the enraptured stranger.

When the first transports of his emotion had subsided, he began to reflect with sore uneasiness on the time he had already lost since his arrival.

"Alas, what have I been doing!" exclaimed he. "This gold which I have been collecting, — tell me, reverend priests, will it avail me anything when the thirty or forty years are expired which, you say, I may possibly sojourn in your planet?"

"Nay," replied the priests, "but verily you will find it of excellent use so long as you remain in it."

"A very little of it shall suffice me," replied he; "for consider how

soon this period will be past: what avails it what my condition may be for so short a season? I will betake myself, from this hour, to the grand concerns of which you have charitably informed me."

Accordingly, from that period, continues the legend, the stranger devoted himself to the performance of those conditions on which, he was told, his future welfare depended; but in so doing, he had an opposition to encounter wholly unexpected, and for which he was even at a loss to account. By thus devoting his chief attention to his chief interests, he excited the surprise, the contempt, and even the enmity of most of the inhabitants of the city; and they rarely mentioned him but with a term of reproach, which has been variously rendered in all the modern languages.

Nothing could equal the stranger's surprise at this circumstance, as well as that of his fellow-citizens appearing, generally, so extremely indifferent as they did to their own interests. That they should have so little prudence and forethought as to provide only for their necessities and pleasures for that short part of their existence in which they were to remain in this planet, he could consider only as the effect of disordered intellect; so that he even returned their incivilities to himself with affectionate expostulation, accompanied by lively emotions of compassion and amazement.

If ever he was tempted for a moment to violate any of the conditions of his future happiness, he bewailed his own madness with agonizing emotions; and to all the invitations he received from others to do anything inconsistent with his real interests, he had but one answer. "Oh," he would say, "I am to die! I am to die!"

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